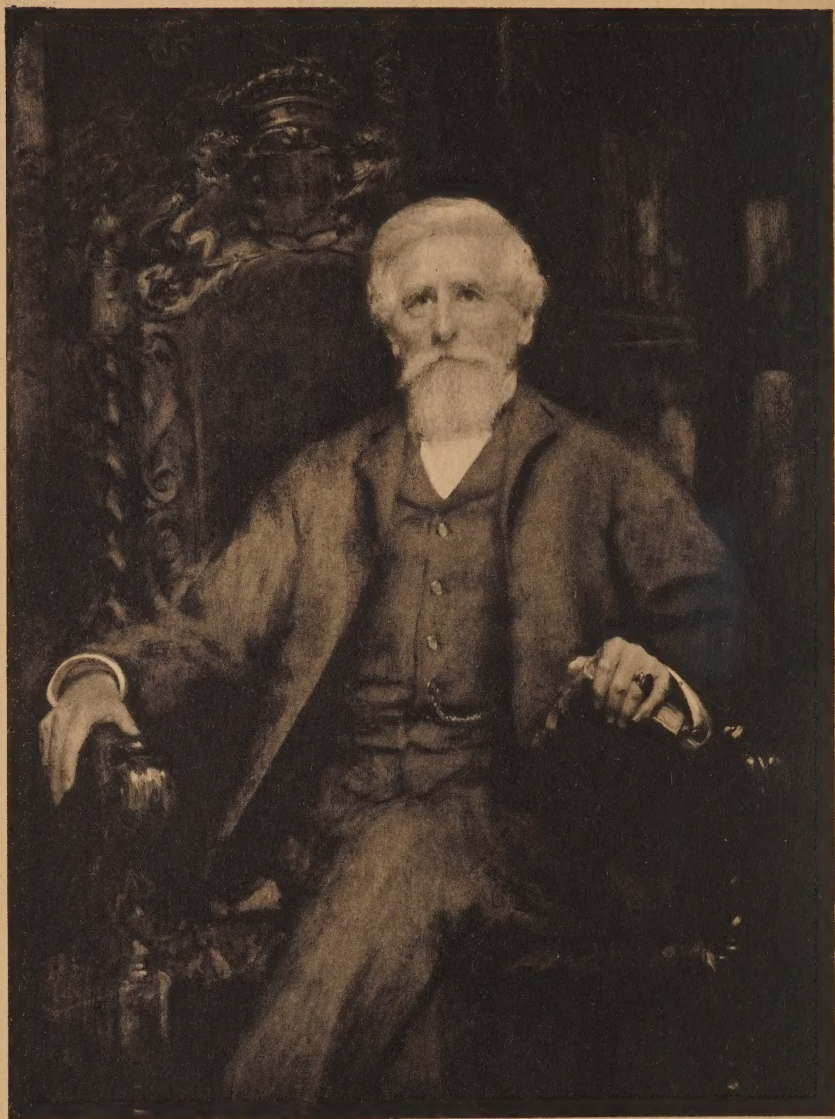


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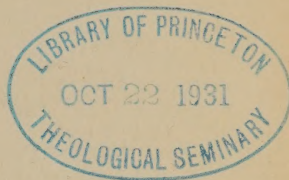
Section



Henry K. Lee.

HENRY CHARLES LEA

A BIOGRAPHY



BY

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PENNSYLVANIA

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PREFACE

THIS book is a fragmentary Biography of Henry Charles Lea, not a critical study of his works. For the latter task the present writer must disclaim both the capacity and the intention. It could be performed only by an accomplished historian specially prepared in the field which Lea made so completely his own.

What has here been chiefly attempted is the study of a remarkable personality, characterized by intellectual vigor and versatility of a high order, and by a manifold accomplishment that won distinction in several fields. Publisher, capitalist, scientist, man of letters, and political reformer, Henry Charles Lea had besides the genius and the energy to become one of the most important of the world's historians. Early in his studies in history he concluded that the laws and institutions of any period would furnish the truest understanding of its character, and he chose to follow this difficult path of investigation into the tremendous issues of the Middle Ages. He became a leading exemplar of a new method of historiography which has exercised enormous influence on later writers. Among his other works his *History of the Inquisition* in eight volumes takes its place unquestioned as one of the world's great achievements of scholarship. It is a high distinction to be the author of the "greatest book of its kind" in any field. That distinction belongs to Lea, the historian. Other distinctions almost equally characteristic belong to Lea as a scientist,

as a political thinker, and as a publisher and financier. His wide range of ability and achievement marks him as an outstanding representative of his time. Of such a man every influence of race or environment is significant. It is the intention of this study to reveal these influences as well as their effects.

It is a pleasure to acknowledge the many kindnesses rendered by surviving friends of the historian, without which this book must have fallen much further short of a satisfactory picture of the man. Space will not permit the mention of all the many with whom I have talked or corresponded, gleaning valuable reminiscences and helpful judgments. Of the scholars who contributed vitally to my knowledge, several have rendered the greatest possible service by making their letters available. Every reader of these pages will be aware of my obligation to them, including some who have died before and since the collection of materials for this Biography was begun: to Lord Bryce, Professor Paul Frédéricq, Hon. W. E. H. Lecky, Professor Charles Molinier, Professor Edouard Montet, Professor Charles Eliot Norton, Dr. Salomon Reinach, and many besides. Most of these letters have not been published before. Others who were well acquainted with Mrs. Lea have most generously related to me many reminiscences and impressions of the older scholar whom they loved and admired: Professor George Lincoln Burr, of Cornell University; Professor Dana C. Munro, of Princeton University, and Professors Arthur C. Howland and Edward P. Cheyney of the University of Pennsylvania. To Professors Howland and Cheyney I am especially indebted, for they have read my manuscript and given me many invaluable suggestions. For his thorough

examination and criticism of the Bibliography I am indebted to Professor Burr.

In the Lea Library of the University of Pennsylvania is a body of material without which this book could not have been written. Conversations with members of the family have given me an intimate understanding, and an almost personal knowledge, without which this effort would surely have lacked vividness and interest. All the family papers have been placed at my disposal. It is only fair to say that Mr. Lea apparently destroyed his correspondence prior to 1880, so that much direct knowledge is irretrievably lost. An effort has been made to supply it from collateral sources.

It was a vivid personality and an extraordinary mind that made such a deep impression in the memory of his contemporaries. From the mass of letters and manuscripts which were left for the biographer to ponder emerged a great spirit which seemed to represent the best produced by his age and its culture. These pages are an attempt to picture that multiple personality in his derivation, his development and his activities through a long and striking career.

E. S. B.

PHILADELPHIA, JULY, 1931.



ARMS OF LYGH OF LANDFORD AND CORSLEY,
WILTSHIRE

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HENRY CHARLES LEA

CHAPTER I

THE ANCESTRY AND FAMILY OF HENRY CHARLES LEA

IF men are partly what their fathers have made them, one can find much reason for inference in an examination of the ancestry and the immediate family of Henry Charles Lea. Both of the ancestral streams which contributed to his blood are worthy of attention. Born September 19, 1825, he was the son of Isaac Lea, a gentle and scholarly publisher and scientist, and of Frances Anne Carey, daughter of Mathew Carey, an Irish patriot who emigrated to America and founded in Philadelphia a publishing house which became one of the most important in the country. These three, as well as the boy's uncle, Henry Charles Carey, a political economist memorable as the protagonist of Protection in the United States, all contributed vitally to the early environment of Henry; but behind them lay a long line of ancestors¹ who merit the attention of anyone interested in the life of the future historian of the Inquisition.

John Lea, the founder of the Lea family in America, came to this country in 1699 as a member of the little group who accompanied William Penn on his second

¹ Lea, James Henry and Lea, George Henry: *The Ancestry and Posterity of John Lea*, Lea Brothers & Co., Philadelphia, 1906.

voyage, on the ship "Canterbury." He and his family presented their certificates of membership to the Friends' Meeting in Philadelphia on August 27, 1700. John Lea was the fifth lineal ancestor of Henry Charles Lea. The English family before John Lea had had a long and interesting history. The numerous spellings of the family name in English records, as Le, Lee, Legh, Leigh, Ligh, Lyghe, Ley, Lega, Aleigh, de Leigh, and in many other variants, render the early family difficult to trace. The obscurities of early English records increase the difficulties. But although certain necessary links are missing to indicate from which of several ancient branches of the family the historian's ancestors sprang, it is clear, in any possible descent, that the early roots of the stock strike back into the thirteenth century. These earlier Leas were frequently distinguished persons, and were entitled to bear arms from the time of their first appearance in recorded documents. Evidence adduced by the writers and compilers of *The Ancestry and Posterity of John Lea*, although it is not conclusive, points to the descent of the family from the stock of Lygh of Landford and Corsley, Wiltshire. The earliest recorded ancestor of this branch was James de Lygh, a Knight during the reign of Henry III (1216-1272) possibly descended from Otho, the Saxon tenant of Landford at Domesday. However, the first proved ancestor of Henry Charles Lea is Baldwyn Lea, churchwarden of Dauntsey, Wiltshire, in 1609, probably a son of Baldwyn Ley of Bisley (d. 1598). Baldwyn was a son of John Lea of Bisley, Gloucestershire, 1523-4, who was probably a son of John Lygh of Chippenham, Wiltshire, where he died in 1503. He was possibly a son of Robert Lygh of Corsley, M.P. for Chippenham in 1467. George, son of Baldwyn



GATEWAY OF CORSLEY MANOR-HOUSE, CORSLEY, WILTSHIRE



ARMS FROM THE GATEWAY OF CORSLEY MANOR-HOUSE

(RESTORED AND ORIGINAL)

Lea of Bisley, moved to Christian Malford, Wiltshire, where his descendants continued as gentlemen and landholders. On an official paper his seal bore the arms of the lion rampant which indicate his descent from the Landford branch of the family. His eldest son, John Lea, also lived in Christian Malford, where he died in 1685. Among his children were the two American emigrants, George Lea, baptized at Christian Malford, February 8, 1659, and John Lea, the founder of the American family, probably born in 1661 or 1662. George Lea died unmarried, at Concord, Pennsylvania, 1730. Of John Lea and his life more is known.

John Lea, baptized at about the age of thirteen, on July 12, 1674, was the son of John and Joane (. . .) Lea. Although his family before him had been active members of the Church of England, John Lea himself accepted at an early age the teachings of George Fox, and apparently, from a reference in Thomas Chalkley's *Journal*, became identified with the Friends not later than 1691. It is known that he was by occupation a wool-stapler; it was probably to be nearer the center of that industry that he moved to Gloucestershire. At Gloucester Monthly Meeting, on February 1, 1698, he married Hannah, the daughter of Samuel Hopton and the widow of Joseph Webb. Their first child, Isaac, born in Gloucester, January 15, 1699, was the great great grandfather of the historian. On the 9th of the following September, the family set sail from Cowes, Isle of Wight, with William Penn in the "Canterbury," landing at Upland, now Chester, Pennsylvania, December 1, 1699. This move was probably influenced in part by the fact that John and Hannah Lea were both devoted Friends, and hoped to

find acceptable religious exercise in the new land, in a colony of their own people.

After a few months' residence in Philadelphia, they settled in Concord, Chester County, in a part now included in Delaware County. Their land was purchased from the Proprietary, as we learn from the warrant signed and sealed by William Penn, and dated March 16, 1701. In the Concord Monthly Meeting John and Hannah Lea became highly esteemed "ministers." Their "concern," as Friends would speak of it, had a missionary bent. As "Public" or "Ministering Friends" they were frequently engaged on religious missions to various parts of the country, either separately or together. John Lea travelled as far as Long Island and the New England Yearly Meeting; Hannah Lea, after many visits of ministry in places close by, received, in 1715, a certificate "to go to old England and accomplish some affairs there." In 1717 John and Hannah Lea made what was then a difficult journey, visiting Friends in Maryland and Virginia.

In 1716 John Lea sold his property in Concord and moved to Chester. After but a short period there he moved to Springfield in the same county, where he died, December 27, 1726. In Thomas Chalkley's *Journal* one finds his beautiful tribute to his friend and fellow preacher.

"I heard the news of the death of my dear friend John Lea, by one sent to desire my company at his burial. It affected me with sorrow, he being an old acquaintance and inward friend of mine, with whom I had travelled many miles.

"He was a living serviceable minister of the Gospel of Christ and instrumental to convince divers of that principle of Divine Light and Truth which we possess.

"I could not be at his burial because of my indisposition and the unseasonableness of the weather. Yet I think it my duty to say this concerning him. That our love and friendship was constant and entire until the end, having been acquainted about thirty-five years as near as I can remember."

Hannah Lea, after the death of her husband, went to live at the home of her son-in-law, Joseph Bonsall, at Darby, Pennsylvania, where she died in 1735.

Of their children, Isaac Lea, the eldest, born, as has been said, in England, continued the ancestry of Henry Charles Lea. Isaac was probably given slightly to what his parents would have considered "worldliness," for in 1721, when he requested a certificate from Chester Monthly Meeting to Darby, where he had taken up his residence, the document was delayed five months, since he was "under dealing" for "dancing at the house of John Wade." He also "married out of meeting," Sarah, daughter of Walter and Rebecca Fawcett of Chester, the ceremony taking place at Christ Church in Philadelphia. Isaac Lea became a well-to-do landholder, successively in Darby and Chester. On October 4, 1746, he was appointed Coroner of Chester County, a post which he resigned in 1750, when he moved to Wilmington, Delaware. Of his eleven children, it was again the eldest, James Lea, who became the ancestor of the subject of this study.

James Lea, born March 26, 1723-4, at Darby Pennsylvania, was twenty-eight years of age when his father moved to Wilmington in 1750, and had been nine years married to Margaret, daughter of John and Joanna Marshall. At the time of their marriage in 1741, the pair had moved from Darby to Chester. They lived subse-

quently in Concord and Newark. Moving to Wilmington about 1753, James Lea became a prominent citizen and a prosperous merchant. For years he lived at the corner of Fourth and Market Streets, where the Bank of Delaware now stands; later he acquired a large parcel of ground on Market Street, next to the site on which the City Hall was later erected. The brick dwelling which he built there was long ago remodelled for business purposes, but the walls still stand. James Lea was evidently a devout man and an active Friend, for his name frequently occurs in the records and minutes of the Wilmington Monthly Meeting. He held important political positions. In 1757-1762, and again in 1766, he was Assistant Burgess of the Borough of Wilmington. He was Chief Burgess in 1768 and 1769, and from 1773 to 1775 he was Town Treasurer. He died of yellow fever, October 2, 1798, in the epidemic of that year. His son James, Jr., the youngest except one of the ten children, was the grandfather of Henry Charles Lea.

James Lea, Jr., born in Wilmington, Delaware, March 28, 1759, inherited much of his father's talent for business, but little of his good fortune. He began his career as a merchant and had soon acquired a fleet of eight or ten ships engaged in the Irish and West Indian trades. Ruined by the embargo of December 7, 1807, he moved with his family to Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Later he went down the Ohio by boat to Cincinnati in 1822. He had there built up a prosperous business when he was again ruined, this time by the acts of a near relative whom he had taken into partnership. He had been Director of the Bank of Delaware, and was well-known for his hospitality and charity. At his death in Cincinnati, September 30, 1825,

he was survived by his widow, Hannah (Gibson) Lea, of Chadds Ford, Pennsylvania, whom he had married at Center, Delaware, in 1781; and by eight of his eleven children. Of these, the sixth, Isaac Lea, was the father of Henry Charles Lea.

Isaac Lea, born in Wilmington, March 4, 1792, had not accompanied his father to Cincinnati. When James Lea's fortune was lost in the panic of 1807, Isaac was a promising and talented boy of fifteen years of age. Thinking it high time to set out upon his own career, he went to Philadelphia, where his brother, John, ten years his senior, had recently established a wholesale importing house. This proved an association of a few years only, as the business was ruined by the fluctuations caused by the war of 1812-1814. However, it gave the boy a valuable training, and served to establish him in Philadelphia, which was to number him, in later life, among its most prominent citizens. The early associations of these two brothers, both of scientific minds, is interesting. Isaac Lea later became one of the leading scientists of his day. John Lea was an enthusiastic student of meteorology and wrote many fugitive articles on that subject. Later he published three monographs on scientific questions.

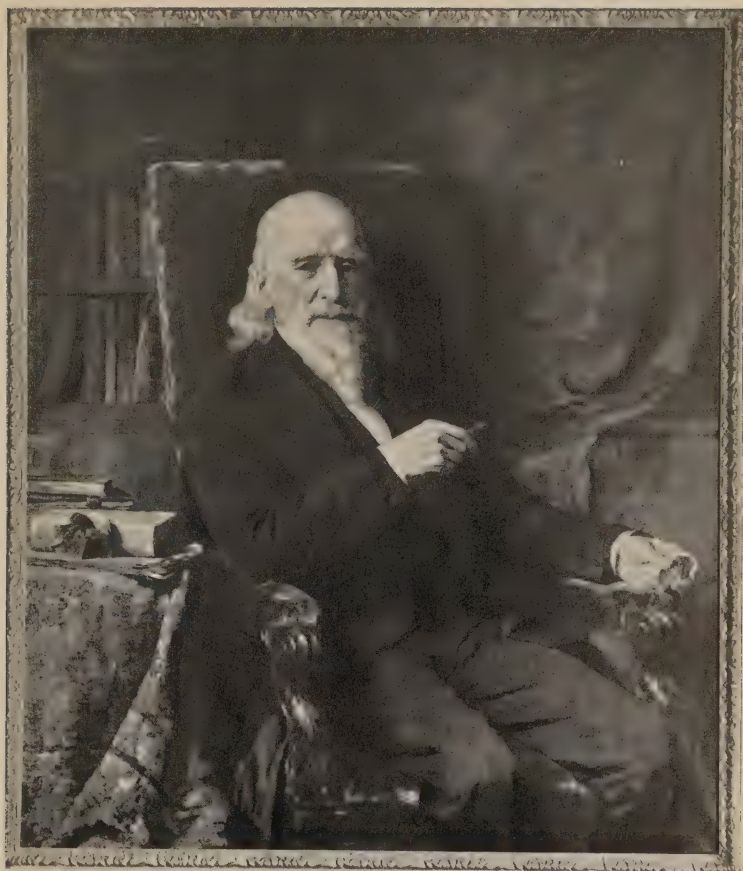
Isaac Lea¹ did not remain a Friend. In 1814, during the war with England, he joined a volunteer musket company, which offered its services to the Governor and held itself in readiness for active service. For this act he lost

¹ For an account of his life, together with a detailed list of his works, see Scudder, Newton Pratt: *The Published Writings of Isaac Lea, LL.D.*, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1885. See also: *The Ancestry and Posterity of John Lea*, p. 96.

his birthright membership in the Society of Friends. On March 8, 1821, he married Frances Anne Carey, daughter of Mathew Carey, a Philadelphia publisher. Although Isaac Lea had been bred a Friend and his wife a Catholic, there were apparently no religious differences between them. Their first child, Matthew Carey Lea (1st), born in 1822, died the same year. They had three other children: Matthew Carey Lea (2d), born in Philadelphia, August 18, 1823, died March 15, 1897; Henry Charles Lea, the subject of this volume, born in Philadelphia, September 19, 1825, died October 24, 1909; Frances Lea, born in Philadelphia, March 6, 1834, died February 25, 1894.

Isaac Lea's first home after his marriage was a comfortable house at 117 South Eighth Street (now No. 249). There the historian was born and spent the first nine or ten years of his boyhood. Although Isaac Lea was by nature rather a scholar than a business man, he was able to maintain his family in very substantial circumstances. On his marriage he entered the publishing house of his father-in-law, Mathew Carey, then a leading figure among American publishers, and the founder of a business that survives today, the oldest in unbroken continuity among the publishing houses of the country.¹ For thirty years Isaac Lea continued an active member of the firm, which, under several changes of name, remained in the same family and prospered. Although not primarily interested in business, Isaac Lea steadily increased his fortune. His knowledge of minerals led him to the purchase of anthracite coal lands, which in time proved a solid investment. In 1833 or 1834 the Lea family moved to 360 Walnut Street,

¹ See pp. 24-30 for a brief account of its history.



Lucretius

(From the portrait by Bernhard Uhle)

now 1310. When Isaac Lea retired from the firm, in 1851, his collection of scientific specimens was too large for proper accommodation in the Walnut Street home. At that time he built the large double house at 1622 Locust Street, where his daughter, Frances, then seventeen years of age, might be more properly introduced.

There for thirty-five years Isaac Lea pursued the scientific studies to which he had been long devoted. The degree of Doctor of Laws conferred on him by Harvard University in 1852 was in recognition of scholarly distinction long before achieved. Early in life Lea had become interested in fossil shells found in local river-beds, and he had pursued a careful, scientific study of them. His keen intellectual curiosity led him by natural steps, as his knowledge and his field widened, from paleontology to the biology of the living descendants of his specimens; and, as a matter of course, to a considerable acquaintance with geology and mineralogy. His printed works, published over a long period, number 279. The collected works constitute thirteen richly illustrated quarto volumes. In 1828, when he was but thirty-six years of age, he was elected a member of the American Philosophical Society, the first learned society in America, founded by Benjamin Franklin. In the same year he was elected a member of the Wistar Association, of which he was later Dean, from 1841 to 1861. This Association, the outgrowth of the famous "Wistar Parties," the intellectual feasts of Dr. Caspar Wistar and an inner circle of members of the Philosophical Society, was for many years identified with the most significant intellectual life on this continent.

In 1832, and again in 1852, the year of his recognition by Harvard University, Isaac Lea attended in England

conventions of distinguished scientists in the special fields of his interest. The list of honors conferred upon him¹ is a sufficient indication of his distinction.

Anyone acquainted with the career of Henry Charles Lea must reflect on the possibility that his scientific habit of mind was greatly stimulated by his father's influence. This is seen, of course, in the fact that the younger Lea's first publications were of a scientific character; so, for that matter, were all the writings of his older brother, the talented Matthew Carey Lea; and it is apparent that a scientific bent was characteristic of the family. But more striking still is the fact that the boy who was his father's pupil in science was later to become a leader in the new school of scientific history; for the "scientific method" of history received perhaps its most substantial impetus from his influence. From the example of his father he may have derived much of that scientific preciseness of

¹ President, Academy of Natural Sciences, 1858-1863; Vice-President, American Philosophical Society; LL.D., Harvard, 1852; Hon. Member, Asiatic Society, Bengal; Member, Royal Physical Society, Edinburgh; Member, Linnean Society, Bordeaux; Member, Imperial Society, Moscow; Hon. Member, Boston Society of Natural History; Member, Royal Academy of Sciences, Turin; Hon. Member, Royal Zoölogical Society of Ireland; Member, Zoölogical Society of London; Hon. Member, Manchester Natural History Society; Member, Royal Northern Antiquarian Society, Copenhagen; Hon. Member, Physical and Natural History Society, Geneva; Member, Geological Society, Berlin; Member, Natural History Society, Athens; Member, Société Polytechnique, Paris; Member, Société Impériale des Sciences Naturelles de Cherbourg; Member, Imperial Royal Zoölogical and Botanical Society, Vienna; Member, Natural History Society, Württemberg; Member, Société Paléontologique de Belgique; Member, Natural History Society, Montreal; President and Fellow, American Association for the Advancement of Science; Member, British Association, 1832 and 1853; Hon. Member, Historical Society, Buffalo, N. Y.; Hon. Member, California Society of Natural History; Member, New York Academy of Science.

mind, that patient, unprejudiced scrutiny of the evidence at hand, that reticent judgment which waits upon fact, all indispensable to the scientist, all so important in the equipment of Lea, the historian.

Another of Isaac Lea's interests is significantly related to the character of his distinguished son. Both were earnest lovers of art. Before his first trip abroad in 1832, Isaac Lea had begun his collection of paintings; in 1832 and 1852, his foreign journeys afforded him the opportunity to acquire many more. At his death he left one of the most important private collections of Italian art then in America. Of this collection, Dr. Fiske Kimball, Curator of the Philadelphia Museum of Art, appreciatively writes:¹

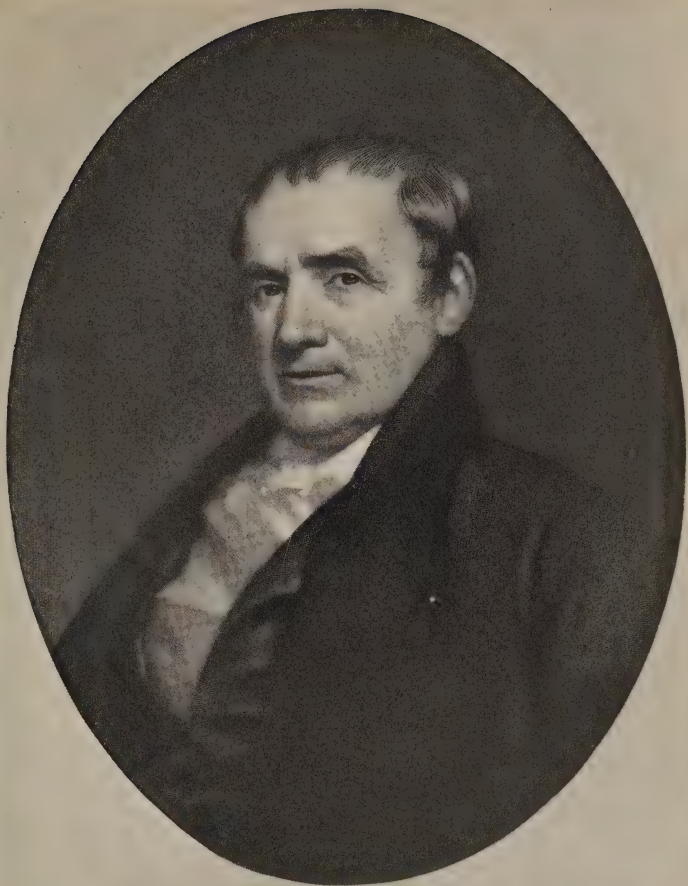
"Long before the day of Ruskin, Isaac Lea, of Philadelphia, had been quietly laying the foundations of one of the most important early American collections. In 1829 he bought his first paintings, purchasing at auction in Philadelphia two Moucheron landscapes and several Dutch pictures. Other purchases followed in Paris in 1832. The great body of the collection, however, was acquired in Italy in 1852, following the troubles of 1848-1849. One hundred and ninety pictures, bought with the advice of the painter Gagliardi, were brought to America in that year."

Isaac Lea's taste for art was innate, and was useful to him in making the drawings for his scientific works. He also painted in oils. His son, Henry, inherited this appreciation for art, and like his father made his own drawings for his published articles. Later he became one of the most devoted and enthusiastic collectors of prints and objects of art in America.

¹ *The Pennsylvania Museum Bulletin*, May, 1926, No. 103, 21, 162, Philadelphia.

The family of his mother, as well as that of his father, affords an important background to the life of Henry Charles Lea. Frances Anne Carey, as has been said, was the daughter of the Irish-born Mathew Carey, of an ancient family. Hers was a strong and clear-minded personality, and traces of her influence are to be found frequently in the *Journal* which Henry kept in his youth. He later recalled that he learned the Greek alphabet at her bedside, when he was but six years of age. Although frequently in ill health, she gave her attention, as unstintingly as her husband, to the education of her children. Her love of poetry may possibly explain in part Henry's early devotion to that art. Her ready command of French enabled her to stimulate his early study of this tongue which was to be so necessary for his later researches. Although bred a Catholic, she married a Friend; and one cannot avoid the reflection that her liberalism supplies an important background to the work of her son, who was to become the historian of the Catholic Inquisition, and to treat it with such unbiased accuracy as had never before been employed, leaving no opportunity for any valid attack from Catholic criticism.

The genealogy of that branch of the Carey family to which Mathew Carey belonged has not been sufficiently established to permit of certainty with respect to its origin. However, in every quarter the same tradition survives with such persistence as to make it credible. This links the Irish Careys with the English Viscounts Falkland, and specifically with Henry Cary (1576-1639), who became the first Viscount Falkland in 1616, having earlier in that year been created a Knight of the Bath and made Comptroller of the Royal Household and a Privy



Matthew Carey

(From the engraving by Sartain
of the portrait by Neagle)

Councillor. This distinguished man was descended from an ancient and important English family. In 1622 he was made Lord Deputy of Ireland, and went there to reside for a time. It is the uncertainty as to the family records in Ireland that makes it impossible to show a clear descent of the Irish family. Of the eleven known children of the first Viscount, two were born in Ireland. It is possible that another, unrecorded by the family genealogist, may have remained there.¹ Again, that "son called 'Father Placide' born in Ireland," by family tradition did not remain a monk, and he may have later become the Irish ancestor. However, the tradition of his life is bafflingly confused with that of Patrick Cary, who returned to England, and married there. Another son, Lorenzo Cary, born in England before his father's residence in Ireland, may have been the Irish founder. His marriage is not recorded, and little is known of him save that he was "killed in Ireland, 1642."

In any case, there is certain other evidence which points to a relationship between the two families. Viscount Falkland was also Lord Carye, and this spelling of the name would account for the introduction of the 'e' into the Irish family name. There is also a striking similarity of Christian names in the Falkland and Irish Carey families. Sir William Cary (born 1437) married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Paulet. Significantly enough, Mathew Carey, the American ancestor, had a brother named William Paulet Carey. The English descendants of this brother of Mathew Carey preserve the same tradition of family origin as has come down in the American

¹ See Robinson, Charles J.: *Records of the Family of Cary, Viscounts Falkland*, Westminster, 1864.

branch. Other Christian names that recur in the Falkland and Carey families are Laurence, Edward and Henry.

If the descent of Henry Charles Lea is to be traced through the first Viscount Falkland to the English Cary family, it was a line in which he might well have taken pride. After the elevation of the family to the Peerage in 1616 the name of Falkland is honorably recorded in every generation among the most distinguished in the country. But even before 1616, back almost to the Conquest, the descent of the Carys is clear through a long line of baronets who were important men in their respective periods. This lineal descent is established back to that Adam de Cary or Karry, who is mentioned as Lord of Castle Cary in Somersetshire in 1198. If the name, as some have argued, is another form of *Carew*, it can be traced to a still earlier period. Elizabeth Sheridan Carey, who was daughter of that William Paulet Carey before mentioned, preserved the family tradition that Adam de Karry's ancestor had accompanied the Conqueror to England at the time of the Conquest in 1066, but this, of course, has not been proved.¹

Whatever his ancestry, Mathew Carey, first of his line in America, was a vigorous and memorable personality. He was born in Dublin, in 1759, the son of Christopher Carey. One of his two brothers, Thomas Carey, was a conservative who remained in Ireland. Dublin knew him colloquially as "Count Carey." But Mathew and his brother, William Paulet Carey, both became devoted to the Irish national cause. They each founded and edited a liberal newspaper, and each was ultimately forced

¹ Correspondence, Elizabeth Sheridan Carey, 1882.

to leave the country as a result of his revolutionary opinions. William Paulet Carey ultimately settled in London, where he became known as a connoisseur of painting and a writer on the subject of art and artists. Mathew Carey's career was more stormy. When he landed in Philadelphia in 1784, an Irish exile with but a few guineas in his pocket, he was only twenty-five years of age; yet he had already experienced extraordinary adventures.¹

In early youth he had established a publishing and book-selling business in Dublin. His sympathies were soon engaged by the most liberal Irish thought of the day, and he devoted himself, as has been previously stated, more and more to the cause of Irish nationalism. At the age of twenty he published "A Letter to the Catholics of Ireland," which the Government regarded as so close to sedition that a reward was offered for his apprehension. He fled to France. In Paris he made two distinguished friends, Franklin and LaFayette, who awakened his interest in the republican ideals of the new land across the sea.

Within a year the English Government's wrath was supposed to be appeased, and it was thought safe for Carey to return to Dublin. There he at once founded a daily paper, *The Volunteer's Journal*, "enthusiastic and violent," as he later said, which caused his arrest within the year on a motion made in Commons by the Irish Premier. Incarcerated in the Dublin Newgate on the sole authority of Parliament, he was liberated by the Lord Mayor as soon

¹ For more detailed information concerning Mathew Carey, see: Bradsher, Earl L., Ph.D.: *Mathew Carey, A Study in American Literary Development*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1912. See also Carey, Mathew: *Autobiographical Sketches in a Series of Letters Addressed to a Friend*, Philadelphia, 1833-1837

as that assembly had adjourned; but since he was still under criminal indictment on the charge of libel against the Premier, he wisely concluded that Ireland must long remain intolerable to one of his independent spirit. Recalling the advice of Franklin, he embarked for America, landing in Philadelphia. Within three months he founded there in January, 1785, *The Pennsylvania Evening Herald*, on a capital of \$400 unexpectedly sent him by LaFayette, who was at the time visiting Washington at Mount Vernon, and chanced to hear that his rebellious young friend had sought the freedom of the new world. This benefaction Carey later repaid to LaFayette.¹ Carey was a fine classical scholar, as well as a man of general culture, gifted with indomitable energy, of strong native sagacity, and of unswerving integrity. He won the confidence of all with whom he was thrown.

Within a year, Carey's paper was a force. By reason of his remarkable memory he was able to report the debates in Congress almost verbatim² in the columns of the *Herald*, and his following so greatly increased that Colonel Oswald, editor of a rival paper, *The Independent Gazetteer*, challenged him to a duel on a trumped-up personal issue. Carey was greatly opposed to duelling. In fact, one of his earliest journalistic efforts had been an

¹ His check, dated September 20, 1824, for \$400, to LaFayette's order and signed by him October 1st, is still in possession of the family. Meantime Carey had given at least as much to needy French *émigrés* in recognition of LaFayette's help to him.

² He used a shorthand of his own invention which in many respects resembles the phonography of today. This was in 1785-1786. "The publication by Isaac Pitman, in 1837 of *Stenographic Sound Hand* marked a new era in the development of phonetic systems," *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Thus Mathew Carey apparently invented and used phonetic shorthand fifty years before it was published as a system.

essay against the practice. Besides this, although he was a man of proved personal courage, he so detested the artificial code of honor still in vogue, that he had discharged a fire-arm but once in his life. During an earlier disturbance in Dublin his friends had insisted on giving him a pistol to protect himself against his political enemies, and he had unloaded it by discharging it up the chimney. However, Carey saw no way to avoid the duel; he met Oswald, a practised shot. Carey refrained from firing and Oswald lodged in his thigh a bullet which laid him up for months. The two editors later became friends.

The paper went on, and another venture was launched, *The Columbian*, a monthly magazine. This failing, it was succeeded by the famous *American Museum*, which was started in 1787, and had a notable career for thirteen years. It enjoyed the approbation of Washington. In 1785 Carey had established in Philadelphia the publishing house which is still vigorous and is the oldest in unbroken continuance in America. The early history of this institution is interesting.¹ Their earliest important publication was the first quarto Bible of American manufacture, in both the Douay translation and the Authorized Version. In those days the entire volume had to be kept standing in type in order to supply successive demands without the enormously expensive duplication of typesetting. The last chases were not broken up until 1844, when the brevier type of the notes found its way into a cheap edition of Lover's *Rory O'More*. Meantime stereotyping had been introduced in America (1813) so that holding type standing was no longer neces-

¹ See *One Hundred Years of Publishing, 1785-1885*, Philadelphia, Lea Brothers & Co., 1885.

sary. Important books on the early list were Parson Weems' biographies of *Washington* and *Marion*, Jefferson's *Notes on Virginia*, Bonaparte's *Ornithology*, and other such works. The magnitude of these enterprises in a market so limited as the thirteen States necessitated the utmost business acumen.

As early as 1742, Benjamin Franklin had begun the practice of reprinting English novels with his edition of Richardson's *Pamela Andrews*, and Carey continued such publication on an extensive scale. Although he had made arrangements with Constable & Co. for early sheets of Scott's *Waverley Novels* as they appeared, he found it necessary to print his edition before his piratical competitors could secure the text by importing a copy of the English original, unprotected by copyright on the new soil.¹ The many uncertainties of communication rendered delays and accidents so likely that it was necessary to keep relays of compositors working over the early sheets night and day. When the binder had finished his work a stage coach had been chartered and a young employé, William A. Blanchard, later to become a partner, would gallop off to New York with the supplies required there. Mounted gallantly on a huge pile of *Waverley*, he would ride night and day, ferrying his precious cargo of romance across the North River to the waiting booksellers. One wonders whether Sir Walter Scott, who used

¹ The galley proofs were received by packet as printed in Scotland. They were apportioned to every printing office in Philadelphia. The complete novel would be in type in three days. The presswork was done in one central office, and bound copies would be in New York several days ahead of printed editions. Such energy under the conditions of that time at least equals the human efficiency of a century later.

to complain of the American piracy of his works, ever knew of this intrepid enterprise of the one American house which paid for the privilege of reprinting him.

Such energy as this, which caused his establishment to be termed on sound authority "the most distinguished publishing house in America,"¹ extended itself in many other directions. Carey became noted for his interest in philanthropic work, and in the public affairs of his city and country. During the yellow fever epidemic of 1793 he was one of the leaders of that little group of citizens who, with Stephen Girard, braved the danger of infection by remaining voluntarily in Philadelphia and organizing relief work among their fellows. Carey's account of the plague went through four editions, and still remains a valuable document to students of its special subject as well as of epidemics and public health. He wrote many important political articles. In 1814, his *Olive Branch; or Faults on Both Sides*, written to allay the savage discord between political parties during the war with Great Britain, attracted universal attention. No less than ten editions were required in rapid succession, and it undoubtedly served its purpose. The work to which he gave his warmest sympathies, his *Vindiciæ Hibernicæ*, was a defense of his native land against the prejudiced slanders current in English histories and journalism. On the question of American economic policy then emerging as of first importance, the need of protection for our infant industries, he entertained decided views. He wrote so frequently and so warmly in support of protection as to be regarded in many quarters as the leading proponent of the policy;

¹ "Carey, Henry C.," in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 13th ed.

so much so, in fact, that in New Orleans, some free-trade subscribers to his Bible refused to receive their copies when they found his imprint on the title page.

The entrance into his business in 1817 of his son Henry Charles Carey, and the additional support, in 1821, of his son-in-law, Isaac Lea, relieved him of the responsibilities of trade. He retired from business in 1824. In 1830 he changed his environment completely by moving his residence from 124 Chestnut Street, next to his publishing house at 4th and Chestnut Streets, to a new home at 116 Walnut Street (later 432). There he devoted his declining years to public interests, to various benevolent enterprises, and to charity. His circle of friendships was large, and his vigorous health allowed him to enjoy it until his death. Even this event was not caused by illness. While he was driving along Spring Garden Street, accompanied by his friend William B. Wood, manager of the Chestnut Street Theatre, his carriage was upset and Carey was severely injured. He died a few days later, on September 16, 1839, in his eightieth year.¹

The publishing house which he left in charge of his son and his son-in-law had attained a leading position during its thirty-nine years of growth. Situated at the southeast corner of Fourth and Chestnut Streets, it was at that time the acknowledged center of the Philadelphia publishing business. In 1817, when Henry C. Carey, subsequently famed as an economist, became his father's partner, the firm name was changed from Mathew Carey to M. Carey

¹ In Dr. Allibone's "Dictionary of English Literature" occurs the following tribute: "The citizens of the United States will ever owe to Mr. Carey's memory a debt of gratitude for his invaluable labors as a citizen, a politician and a philanthropist."

& Son. In 1821, when Isaac Lea entered the firm, it became M. Carey & Sons. On the retirement of the founder in 1824 the firm style became Carey & Lea. It may be well to record here the succeeding changes in the constitution and the names of the firms whose history spans such a long period of American publishing. In 1827 Edward L. Carey, a younger son of Mathew Carey, entered the firm, which then became Carey, Lea & Carey. In 1829, however, the younger Carey took as his share of the business the retail trade. The firm was divided, and Edward L. Carey took as his partner Abraham Hart. This firm of Carey & Hart was succeeded by Henry Carey Baird & Co., Mr. Baird being a grandson of Mathew Carey.

Carey & Lea, formed in 1829, included only Henry C. Carey and Isaac Lea; but in 1833 the firm became Carey, Lea & Blanchard on the admission to partnership of William A. Blanchard, who had been many years in the employ of the house. The retirement in 1836 of Henry C. Carey left the firm as Lea & Blanchard. This it continued to be for fifteen years.

The house fully maintained its position as the foremost engaged in the publication of general literature. It was virtually the American publisher of Sir Walter Scott, of Fenimore Cooper, Washington Irving, Edgar Allan Poe and many other leading writers. It was the earliest to recognize the genius of Dickens. Since 1820 it had included medical works in its list, and after 1851 it specialized in that field, as it has done for the eighty years since, playing no small part in promoting the eminence of the American medical profession of today.

At the retirement of Isaac Lea in 1851, Henry Charles

Lea, who since 1843 had been actively employed in the business, was admitted to partnership. The firm then became Blanchard & Lea. In 1865 William A. Blanchard retired. Henry Blanchard, his son, entered the firm in his place, but this partnership of Lea & Blanchard was dissolved in a few months because of the younger man's ill health. From 1865 until 1880 Henry C. Lea conducted the business alone, under his own name. In 1880 the firm of Henry C. Lea's Son & Co. was formed, comprising Charles M. Lea, second son of the historian, with Henry M. Barnes and Christian C. Febiger, a cousin of Henry C. Lea, who had been for some years connected with the house. Henry C. Lea remained as special partner. The complete retirement of the latter in 1885 caused a change in the firm name to Lea Brothers & Co. At this time the youngest son of the historian, Arthur H. Lea, became a partner. Henry M. Barnes retired in 1897. In 1907 the three partners reorganized as Lea & Febiger, with Arthur H. Lea at their head. Under the same name, in 1913, two younger relatives were admitted to partnership, Van Antwerp Lea and Christian Febiger, son of Christian C. Febiger. The retirement, in 1915, of the older members of the firm, left these latter two in sole charge of the business, as they are at the present writing.

Of the interesting group of people who formed the family background in which Henry Charles Lea grew up, one remains for special mention. This is the boy's uncle, Henry Charles Carey (1793-1879), whose attainments urgently invite comparison with certain aspects of his nephew's and namesake's character. For nineteen years, from 1817 until 1836, he was a member of the publishing firm, and for eleven years its active head; yet like three

other distinguished men associated with this business, Henry Carey found time in his busy life to become a leader in his chosen field of scholarship. A political economist, he contributed importantly to the economic thought of his day. His nine large volumes, his three-score monographs, and his voluminous fugitive writings furnish an evidence of his unflagging industry.¹

Among the many writings of his father, Mathew Carey, had been a collection of *Essays on Political Economy* (1822) one of the earliest of American treatises favoring protection. Henry C. Carey's life-work was devoted to the propagation of the same principle; in fact, he formulated a system of economy based upon it, and his writings "soon became the standard representative in the United States of the school of economic thought which, with some interruptions, has since dominated the tariff system of that country."² Almost simultaneously with his retirement from business appeared the first volume of his *Principles of Political Economy* (1837-1840), which represented years of study and reflection pursued in the limited leisure afforded its author during his busy years as publisher. It was translated into Italian and Swedish, and exercised a wide influence. It had been preceded by several works of lesser scope; it was followed by many smaller volumes on wages, the credit system, interest, slavery, copyright, and other subjects. The fruits of his years of labor Carey later gathered into the three volumes of his *Principles of Social Science* (1858-1859) a comprehensive and mature exposition of his views.

¹ See Elder, William: *A Memoir of Henry C. Carey*, Philadelphia, 1880.

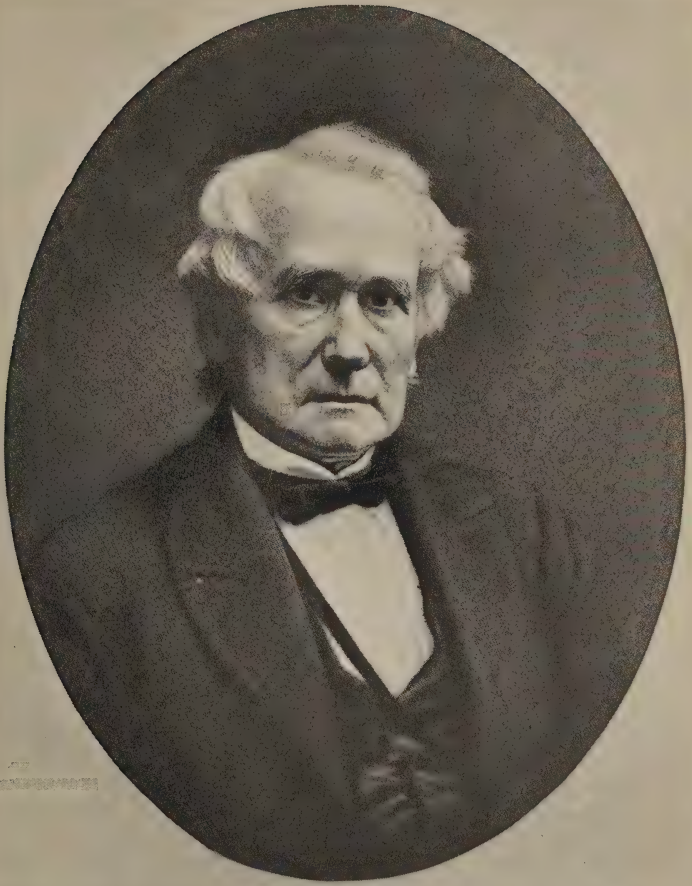
² For an able résumé of his economics, see Carey, Henry C., in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 13th ed.

"Henry Carey's place in history¹ will be as the Reformer of these old (Ricardo-Malthusian) misconceptions. He showed that the world is large enough for its children, that Nature is helpful, and that the object of government is the promotion of the *welfare of mankind*. He gave mankind a new hope by showing a scientific basis for the policy of national development. The fact remains, however, that until Mr. Carey reached his fiftieth year he believed himself a free trader. Dr. William Elder in his memorial address before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, January 5, 1880, said that the disastrous effects of Clay's compromise, or sliding-scale tariff of 1833, first set him thinking, and that in 1847 or 1848 there came to him as with a flash of lightning the conviction that the whole Ricardo-Malthusian System is an error, and that with it must fall the system of British free trade. He was a protectionist from that hour. "He then became, to use the expression of a French critic, the very 'Ajax of Protection,' and has long been recognized as such throughout the civilized world."²

"Dr. Robert Ellis Thompson, after speaking of him as the greatest of protectionists of his time thus summarizes the distinctive features of his teachings: 'It was his great merit to have revolutionized economic science by exploding the mechanical and inhuman notions which had made it "the dismal science," and by discovering the beneficent laws which govern the accumulation and distribution of wealth. . . . In Mr. Carey's view, the workman equally with the capitalist is a person, and the two are partners in production. In this partnership the capitalist supplies the results of the past labor; the laborer supplies the living labor of today. . . . Mr. Carey believed in law, but had come to see that those laws are beneficent and divine. They work from poverty to wealth: "Men pass from what is worse to what is better." They are laws

¹ Home Market Bulletin, Boston, March, 1898.

² Baird, Henry Carey: *Biography of Henry C. Carey*, American Bookseller, February 16, 1885.



Henry B. Fawcett

of growing tendency to equality of condition: the rich grow richer, but the wealth of the poorer classes grows vastly faster."

His nephew, Henry Carey Baird, in his *Biography*¹ stated that "it began to dawn upon him that all of the great authorities were wholly wrong. He followed up his convictions with the earnestness and industry of his ardent nature, doing an immense amount of almost continuous work in newspapers, magazines, pamphlets and books to the close of his life. His chief works have been translated into French, German, Italian, Swedish, Russian, Magyar, Japanese and Portuguese. The Japanese edition of the *Manual of Social Science* has run to four editions of 2000 copies each. In 1856 he assisted in the organization of the Republican party. During the war he was repeatedly in consultation with President Lincoln and Secretary Chase. He was one of the founders of the Union League Club. Mr. Carey was a member of many learned societies at home and abroad, and in 1863 the University of New York conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws."

"David H. Mason of Chicago, the ablest economist of the west, spoke of Mr. Carey² as a 'great philosopher, whose power of generalization was never excelled, and who ranks intellectually with Bacon, Newton, Franklin and Humboldt; he was a revolutionary innovator in the field of political economy—a veritable hero of originality. His system of thought is totally unlike the works of any of his predecessors. They made the accumulation of wealth the great object of human existence; he made the welfare and development of man the great object. His doctrines, his reasons, his definitions, his ends, were all unique, *sui generis*. Fortunate the country which had a citizen of such transcendent ability to reintroduce and clothe with

¹ Baird, Henry Carey: *Biography of Henry C. Carey*, American Bookseller, February 16, 1885,

² *Industrial World*, May 28, 1891.

logic and light the great policy of Washington and Hamilton from which the people had largely departed; who had the philosophical mind to put all opinions, all facts and all nature to the test and evolve a luminous mass of new and everlasting truths. In his chosen field no predecessor ever equalled him, and no successor has found any considerable area that he did not explore. He deserves to be enshrined in history as the people's "guide, philosopher and friend.' "

Although an able, and at times a truculent controversialist, Henry C. Carey possessed a quality of personality that drew to him others of similar interests. The "Carey Vespers" were the result of this characteristic. This famous round-table meeting of economists was held on Sunday afternoons in the drawing room of his residence, 1102 Walnut Street, and became a well-known Philadelphia institution. For years Carey presided over the discussions of political, social and economic questions at his home, and not only local students of the subject but also scholars of distinction from many parts of the world came there to participate. In spite of the firmness of his scholarly opinions, and that quarrelsomeness in support of them that he frequently displayed, Carey had remarkable capacity for friendship. He was one of a group of twelve who formed the habit of dining together once a year. After many years the group began to be reduced by death, until at last Carey alone survived. Yet he continued thereafter to dine alone, on the anniversary of that day, in memory of the others.

Thus the Careys, father and son, may be considered the protagonists of the doctrine of Protection, which has been the foundation of American industry and prosperity.

A consideration of the facts which have been adduced concerning the family and the forebears of Henry Charles Lea is helpful to an understanding of the man and the historian. Besides his strong mind and individual interests, which were to send him off in directions of his own, there were many stimulating examples of achievement in his family which must in some measure have inspired his boyhood and youth. The individual capacities of the various members of his family in a very interesting way foreshadow the powers which lay dormant in his mind, and which, when brought to fruition in the life of a single individual, rendered him a most versatile and interesting personality.

CHAPTER II

YOUTH

"OLD Philadelphia" means more than a place; it connotes an environment. To those of a later and more hurried age it must be clear that the influence of the old city would be strong on its inhabitants. The more peaceful and leisurely conditions of life, the quiet emphasis of the older families upon the development of individual personality, the dignity and conservatism inherited partly from the Quaker past, all left their mark on the city and its people. Into this tradition Henry Charles Lea was born on September 19, 1825. The transition which was to sweep the city so rapidly away from its past had barely set in. The birthplace of the historian, at 117 South Eighth Street (now 249) was at that time in a conservative residential neighborhood, and the household of Isaac Lea, his father, was marked by all the best of the influences which have been mentioned. There, and later in the more substantial house at 360 Walnut Street (now 1310), where the family moved when Henry was nine or ten years of age, the boy grew up. It has been indicated in the preceding chapter that he was fortunate in his ancestors, and in his immediate relatives; his father, Isaac Lea, his intellectual mother, his grandfather, Mathew Carey and his uncle, Henry Charles Carey.

For our rather limited knowledge of the boyhood and youth of Henry Charles Lea we are dependent on three

sources. There is of course the traditional information which would survive among the friends and relatives of a man of so marked a personality as his; there are his student's note-books and exercise books, beginning in his eighth year and extending, with some interruptions, for nearly ten years; and most important of all, there is the "Journal" which he kept, with a hiatus here and there, from January, 1839, until after he entered business in 1843. This record is of extreme interest, since it deals with a period of vital development, between the ages of fourteen and eighteen years. In it we see reflected his mental and emotional struggles as he tested his various abilities, his doubts, fears and hopes as he failed or succeeded in some field that aroused his ambitions, his earnest questioning of his future, and his final settlement, in 1843, as an employé of his father's publishing house, with his intellectual future still undetermined. From the "Journal," also, we learn how very close was Henry's association with his brother, Matthew Carey Lea, called Carey by his family.

Matthew Carey Lea, born August 18, 1823, was two years Henry's senior, a boy of extraordinary mental quickness and ability. The two were very warm friends as well as brothers. They were educated together in a fashion far from usual, which must form the subject of later examination. It is well to understand at once, however, that the tutor to whom the boys' instruction was intrusted took little account of the difference in age between them, and in general set the same tasks for both. This had an enormous influence in stimulating Henry to accomplishments beyond his years, and his efforts to equal the pace of an older brother above the average in power may

account for the early mental maturity of Henry and the surprising productivity of his youth. One disadvantage of this rigid discipline, however, was soon to make itself apparent. By persistently pushing himself beyond his strength, the boy induced, at an early age, the nervous disorders that were to afflict his youth, and brought on the almost chronic headaches which later seriously hampered his work.

Even in later years the two brothers were much together. They married sisters. Although M. Carey Lea's aptitude for science was early marked, he became interested in the law. In late youth he read law in the famous office of William M. Meredith, and was admitted to the bar. But his health failed, and he abandoned the idea of practising law, returning to the study of chemistry. In this science he had acquired a substantial foundation, studying in boyhood with Henry in the laboratory of Booth and Boyé in Philadelphia. He came to be regarded as one of the foremost writers of the day on matters related to chemical physics.¹

Carey Lea was sixteen when Daguerre's experiments gave photography its birth. Seeing the immense significance of this infant science, he later set about the application of his chemical knowledge to its development. His articles found a welcome in European as well as in American periodicals, and his *Manual of Photography* became a standard reference work. In the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (13th ed.) the short article covering the entire development of photography and its chemistry mentions M. Carey Lea twice as an important contributor to the science. One

¹ See *Ancestry and Posterity of John Lea*, p. 145.

² Vol. XXI, p. 489.

finds there² that "In 1877 M. Carey Lea of Philadelphia . . . announced that a solution of ferrous oxalate in neutral potassium oxalate was effective as a developer (in the dry plate process), and from that time its use has been acknowledged." Again, in connection with the "Collodion Emulsion Processes" one finds:¹ "In 1864 W. B. Bolton and B. J. Sayce published the germ of a process which revolutionized photographic manipulations . . . but for some time it lay dormant. . . . M. Carey Lea of Philadelphia . . . may be said to have given the real impetus to the method." It is certainly from such evidence to be supposed that Carey Lea's mind was an inquiring and active one, and that, as one discovers from Henry's "Journal," the efforts of the younger boy to keep abreast of his achievements subjected him to a great strain. The chemist's researches were not by any means confined to the field of photography. It is related by a member of his family that during the War of the Rebellion Carey Lea offered to the United States Government the knowledge of a process for employing picric acid as a base of high explosives. The Government, however, declined the suggestion. Long afterwards it was rediscovered that the explosive power of picric acid derivatives enormously exceeded that of any powder used during that war, and that they had the great additional advantage of smokelessness. Had Carey Lea's suggestion been followed it is likely that the victory of the North would have been greatly hastened, and that corresponding loss of life and property would have been avoided. He was elected a member of the American Academy of Sciences. He died March 15, 1897.

¹ Vol. XXI, p. 490.

There was one other member of the family of Isaac Lea. This was his daughter, Frances Lea, born March 6, 1834. Since she was nine years Henry's junior, she played a small part in the events of his youth, although an occasional reference in the "Journal" indicates a warm fondness for her. A gentle and affectionate nature, Frances Lea felt deeply the responsibility of her invalid mother, to whom she was devoted. On the death of her mother, which occurred May 29, 1873, she undertook the management of her father's household and contributed greatly to the comfort of his declining years, until his death in 1886. In 1890 she married the Rev. Leander Trowbridge Chamberlain. She died February 25, 1894.

Such, then, was the interesting family of which the boy, Henry, found himself a part. In 1832, his formal schooling began and ended. Henry was then seven years of age, and Isaac Lea decided to travel abroad with his family. He wished to attend a meeting of the British Association of Science in Oxford, and to meet in England and France several scientists whose fields of investigation lay parallel to his own. Having been to Oxford and visited London, he took his family to Paris, where they spent several months. In the autumn Isaac Lea with his family took a journey down the Rhine with J. Fenimore Cooper, some of whose works he had published. One who in later years heard the historian speak of his memories of the early visit to Paris has thus recorded it:¹ "A short stay in 1832 at a school in Paris, where he was the only boy not a native of France, probably had something to do with

¹ Cheyney, E. P.: On the Life and Works of Henry Charles Lea, *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 1911, 50, No. 198, q. v.

his easy use of French, both as a spoken and a written language, during his later life. He remembered the French boys bringing to school bullets found in the streets after the Parisian rising that led to the dethronement of Charles X. It was a long memory that covered the history of France from the Bourbons to the thirty-eighth anniversary of the Third Republic."

The trip abroad, which began on April 1, 1832, is recorded in an amusing little diary, with ingenuous misspellings, which antedates by several years the "Journal," and appears to be the earliest of the many writings of Henry C. Lea. It is surprisingly mature, and interesting for its keen observation. His entries began in New York, where he apparently was most impressed by two buildings, the City Hall and the Museum, of which he sorrowfully records that they "did not go in it." In Havre he observed that its citizens wore wooden shoes, and that its streets were "paved with stones and not with brikes." He also noted the curious throngs of people, especially "the boys that walk on stilts four or five feet high," and the "girls that perform all kinds of tumbling triks." His delightful irrelevance brought together the facts that "there is an old Cathedral two hundred and sixty years old. The horses all have very large collars." In London he described at length a certain new and rather spectacular manner of sprinkling the streets, but he also mentioned Westminster Abbey and the fact that in it "there are a number of tombs." The armor in the Tower, the flags of the Knights of Bath, and Napoleon's chair, were proper memories for the mind of a future historian. In Paris, again, it was the embryo historian who chose for special mention the "fine colection of ships and botes, very well maide" at the

"Marine Department," and the gory historical paintings of Claude Lorraine.

When the family settled down again in Philadelphia the following November, Isaac Lea gave serious consideration to the education of his two boys. The choice of primary schools was of course quite limited at that time, and the methods employed by some of them were open to serious question. Isaac Lea and his wife, whose determination and wisdom were remarkable, carefully weighed the various alternatives, and decided on private tutoring as the most desirable course, provided that the proper tutor could be secured. The biologist knew, from his own experiences in acquiring knowledge independently, how effective this method could be under the proper conditions. He was so fortunate in his selection of a tutor that neither he nor either of his sons ever had reason to desire a change. It thus happened that Henry Charles Lea never went to school in the ordinary sense of that phrase, yet he was always far ahead of other boys of his age, and at a time when most of them were still at school he was doing independent scientific and literary work, and publishing the results. He remained under the charge of the same tutor, Eugenius Nulty, until he went, at the age of eighteen, to take his place in his father's publishing house.

Eugenius Nulty was a unique and interesting character. He had been born in Ireland and bred to the trade of carpenter. The story is that working one day in a gentleman's library he took down a book and became so interested in it that he began a course of self-prescribed reading and study, and so educated himself. However it came about, he was a scholar of a rigorous sort, who had found his own paths to knowledge and knew well how to direct

the efforts of others. His special subject was mathematics, but he had acquired also a thorough foundation in the sciences. Judging from Henry's exercise books, it seems apparent that Nulty was well-read in ancient and modern languages and literature, and an able teacher of these subjects. His name first appears in the Philadelphia Directory for 1829 as "teacher." In 1833, when Henry and Carey Lea first began their study with him, he resided at the then number 164 South Tenth Street, although it is doubtful that the boys ever went there for lessons, since Nulty continued for several years to tutor them at home. Later, he moved to 238 Filbert Street, which would be, by a present day reckoning probably at number 1518.

At this house the two boys sought instruction over a period of several years. By accident, and by the manner of his own self-education, Nulty had hit upon two important educational ideas: that subjects of study can best be pursued singly, or a few at a time; and that whenever possible, they should be correlated in such a way that the bearing of one on another is made clear. He insisted, therefore, that his pupils should have acquired a solid foundation in one subject before beginning another. Thus, one by one, subjects of study were added to the list, the work in the older ones progressing, of course, but the emphasis being placed, for a time, upon the new one, until its essentials were mastered. Correlation was secured by the attempt to allow one subject to lead to or suggest another. It is interesting to note that all his life the historian pursued this method of study, seldom beginning the acquisition of a new subject until his attention had been directed to it by some recognized need, or by its relationship to a larger scheme of things. The method,

although thorough, was severe on both master and pupil, but Nulty had ample time for the task, since he seldom had more than three or four pupils. At times Henry and Carey Lea occupied his entire attention. They had personal instruction, a method never excelled.

Henry's note-books from the age of nine to sixteen show an assiduous devotion to study that must have filled his days, and a wider range of subjects as well as a deeper foundation of culture than he could have acquired in any school. Mathematics was rigorously pursued from the fundamentals of arithmetic, through mensuration, algebra, geometry and differential calculus, and the boys constructed their own text-books in these subjects as they performed the various progressive problems. Chemistry and physics formed a large part of the study of the earlier period. Nulty pursued a strict laboratory method, requiring the boys to construct much of their own apparatus. This was not always successful, but generally instructive. "I constructed," wrote Henry,¹ "a polarizing machine on the plan of Biot, but could not make it answer well." This method involved considerable practice in drawing, at which Henry became especially adept. He gathered a large folio of sketches, not only of biological specimens but also of landscapes and human subjects. Under Nulty he studied the rudiments of biology. His father naturally directed his researches further in this subject, and especially in marine zoology. The assiduous reading of Audubon was joined with practical observation. About to send to England for a Stanhope lens, Henry gleefully recorded, "Father brought me one from a Wistar Party."

¹ "Journal."

Henry's practice in writing was continuous from the age of ten until he left the care of Nulty. At first were the crabbed pages in which penmanship united with moral maxims in such gems as "Dare not make a jest of another person," or "Never put off until tomorrow what you can do today." From this he passed on to the telling in his own words of stories from Scripture, of which that of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba was his first favorite. His earliest original work was a group of essays on historical subjects: the Thugs, the Medici, the Dukes of Normandy, the Hanseatic League, and similar topics. Since Nulty was an advocate of Franklin's method of literary self-instruction, Henry was soon set the task of reconstructing Addison, Steele, and other stylists of the eighteenth century, with results which clearly indicate his unusual ability. In his study of the classical languages, which he began at the age of ten, he progressed far, and as his early published essays show, he read the great works in these languages with ease and precision. French and Greek, which he had begun to acquire under his mother's tutelage and during his visit to France, he continued to read with Nulty. German, Spanish and Italian he began at that time and abandoned; though later in life he used them freely. He had a ready facility in language, and whenever, in the pursuit of historical studies, he met sources in a tongue unknown to him, he mastered it. Italian, Hebrew, Spanish and Portuguese were in time acquired in this fashion. German he learned at the age of sixty, and Dutch at eighty.

Life for the two brothers was not all hard work, however, and the "Journal" indicates a normal interest in activities beyond books. More than this, it indicates a pride in

whatever work they were doing which made it a pleasure rather than a task. This was especially true of biology, primarily botany, ornithology, and conchology. Field work in these subjects took them out for long rambles into the countryside, which in those days lay close by. Both Henry and Carey were valiant pedestrians, and sometimes accompanied by their father, but more often alone, they explored the fields and the streams. It was possible in those days to pursue such recreation even within the city, for Philadelphia still maintained some of the aspects of the quiet Quaker village, with its red brick, and walled gardens, its green, leafy, open spaces, its birds and trees. Just beyond were richer fields. One hunted birds on Strawberry Hill; found orchids and trillium in pastures now occupied by a crowded South Philadelphia; gathered shells on the banks of the Schuylkill, and flowers along the banks of the Wissahickon, the Pennypack and the Crum. The Delaware in those days was still unpolluted. One not only watched the sailing ships from Liverpool and Havre unload their strange cargoes along wharves then the most active in America, but also one could find in the markets on Second Street a profuse assortment of fish taken from its teeming waters. These, as the "Journal" shows, afforded the earliest specimens for the young biologists. It is difficult today to recapture the rural aspects of that life. In 1842 Henry went up the old Ridge Road to Girard College, and saw from what he regarded as a lofty tower, the two shining rivers on either side across wide pastures.¹

From the point at which his "Journal" begins, at the age of fourteen, until it abruptly ceases, four years

¹ "Journal."

later, Henry's interests were divided between science and literature. He pursued each alternately with vigor and enthusiasm; at times one, then the other, would present itself to him as his inevitable career; in each field he did original and able work which was published. Because of his confusing effort to follow at once the two attractions, an attempt to view his activities chronologically would seem chaotic. Since his devotion to science was the first to assert itself, we may consider separately all of his early accomplishments in this field. Although the earliest article which the youth wrote was the record of an original investigation in the field of chemistry, the emphasis of the "Journal" is at first upon the study of birds, flowers and shells.

Many were the long rambles of the brothers in quest of these treasures. Of a characteristic walk in January, 1839, the "Journal" records:

"We found (on the banks of the Schuylkill) a place where the muskrats had brought up a great number of shells. We looked over about 250 but then we got tired and left the rest."

In the same year they were deep in the study of the life of Wilson the ornithologist, and Henry notes, "Father gave me Rennie's Ornithological Dictionary." The step to taxidermy was a short and natural one, and the brothers were soon engaged in keen rivalry to produce the most successful stuffed specimens. But in the shadow of the panic of 1837 the family was not affluent, and on the allowance of thirty-seven and a half cents a week each boy learned the lessons of economy in his attempt to keep himself supplied with the specimens which he purchased ready-killed in the market. There is an amusing

juxtaposition in the entries in the "Journal" for one day: "On Sunday Carey and I walked out to Fairmount. I found a five-penny bit. I bought a cherry-bird in market. . . . I was in market today and saw a bluebird and some robins besides some blackbirds and larks, but did not buy any for they were too dear and I had a bird in the house." Henry took great pride in the work of mounting, and was provoked to fresh efforts by every failure. When a mouse which he was mounting went wrong in some way, he wrote, "I intend to go on stuffing until I am an expert," which he did. Whenever science and art clashed in his interests in these early days, science was certain of the victory. On one occasion the "Journal" records their visit to the museum, ostensibly to "hear the music of Frank Johnson's band," but the music is dismissed with the simple statement that it "was very good," while the wonders of science also housed in that museum, such as the cow so amply endowed with "five legs, six feet and two tails," received more than a page of appreciative comment. The botanizing went on intermittently in season, and was pursued in every direction, but preferably along the banks of the Schuylkill and the Wissahickon. On these latter jaunts they were frequently accompanied by their first cousin, Henry Carey Baird, and a sharp-eyed but silent boy, S. Weir Mitchell. He later became his country's leading neurologist, as well as a poet and novelist. Mitchell's medical skill and knowledge enabled him years later to overcome the nervous breakdown from overwork which so long had limited Lea's creativeness.

At the age of fourteen, Henry was so fascinated by the museum and the menagerie that he would sometimes

visit them several days in succession. To be sure, he at first made elaborate entries concerning wonders only questionably biological, such as the bald-headed man who painted his pate to resemble a baby's face and spoke ventriloquistically in a small voice; or the undersized elephant named Napoleon, of which he proudly records: "I got on his back, and after riding twice around the circle, was shaken off." Often, however, he made well-informed comments on the habits of the animals, the snakes and birds, with remarks about what "Audubon says in his book." Taxidermy had now progressed to the stage of an art. Henry once spent in advance an entire week's allowance on a large snow-owl, of which, when it was stuffed and mounted, he was very proud. The "Journal" continues amusingly:

"Some time ago I stuffed a gold winged woodpecker, but some of the feathers . . . have fallen out every night since, so on Saturday I put it under the claws of the Snow-owl. I put some sealing wax on it to look like blood, but as it did not look well, I took all I could get off again."

However, in spite of this misadventure, he could feel satisfied that the owl at the Academy of Natural Sciences was "by no means as fine" as his.

It was as a chemist, however, that he accomplished his first independent research. At the age of fifteen he had considered making chemistry his life work. He persuaded his father to allow him to study in the chemical laboratory of Booth & Boyé in Philadelphia, where he worked intermittently for two years. Little was then known of the salts of manganese, and he had been directed by his teachers to experiment with them. It was his nature to do original work in whatever branch he undertook, and

at the age of sixteen he wrote his first article, "An Examination of the Peroxide of Manganese,"¹ giving the results of his investigation. It was published in *Silliman's Journal* for November, 1841. His newly disclosed power of research led his father to ask him that winter to review a new book, Squarey's *Popular Treatise on Agricultural Chemistry*. The review was published in *The Farmer's Cabinet*, July, 1842.

The combination of daily lessons at home with the effort to go several afternoons a week to the laboratory proved too much for him, and the practical chemistry was abandoned. However, he was secretly pleased at the recognition his article had won, although he treats the matter lightly in the "Journal:"

"I was very much amused by seeing my name in the papers as conferring honor on Philadelphia. The *Inquirer* came out with a notice of *Silliman's Journal*, praising it and observing how well it was kept up. The remarks concluded by saying that they were glad to see that Philadelphia contributed her share to it . . . and that they were extremely happy to observe in the last number papers from Dr. Hare, Mr. S. C. Walker and Mr. H. C. Lea! . . . Most excellent company! . . . Seriously speaking, not very long ago . . . I thought that I might prove something extraordinary, but, alas! all such hopes have fled . . . It is very bad to be under the influence of the weather, but I am driven to that as an excuse . . . My head has also conspired to render me miserable. For some days past it has been worse than usual; why, I cannot tell. I strive as much as possible to resist these unpleasant feelings, . . . but they force themselves upon me so that it is difficult at times to keep myself good for anything. I am subject to a wretched kind of despondency. This in a boy of

¹ For full record of his early publications, see Bibliography.

seventeen is nothing more nor less than highly ridiculous; . . . at my time of life everything ought to appear *couleur de rose*. I, however, . . . cannot find the enjoyment that all 'grown people' profess to see in youth and childhood, but then I believe that I shall never be happier in any age than at present."

The tone of this passage was of course the result of a physical indisposition to which he was increasingly subject. Since the age of seven he had been taxing his capacities to the utmost. Driven by his keen intellectual interest in almost every subject that was presented to him, he applied himself too steadily to his studies; besides, as has been said, he was pursuing the same studies as the brilliant and older Carey. The result was a recurrence of nervous headaches, which frequently became so severe as to render further work impossible. At times in the "Journal" one finds such an entry as the following: "I am afraid I shall have to give up all my studies. My only occupations are groaning, studying and scribbling." The lesson of moderation in work he refused to learn. During his early years in business he attempted to continue at night his long practice of hard study, with the result that he broke down later beneath the strain, and had to postpone for nearly ten years the pursuit of those scholarly researches which he had hoped to accomplish.

The botanizing, which kept him so much in the open air and afforded such beneficial exercise, was a valuable antidote to these attacks. The banks of the Schuylkill from Flat Rock Dam to Gray's Ferry became an open book to Henry and Carey. In the spring of 1840 alone, Henry recorded the classification of between five and six hundred specimens. Certainly the boy must have been naturally vigorous, for he was capable of exceptional

physical exertion. It was only a typical excursion which he recorded thus in the "Journal:"

"We walked out to Frankford Creek; kept up it until it branched, followed up the Wingohocking to Germantown, and as we felt fresh and had time, we walked down the Wissahickon to the Ridge Road and came in on the cars from there, altogether about twenty miles. We got three new flowers."

For another jaunt, to Cobb's Creek, they "got up at 4 o'clock and dressed by moonlight."

This love of the out-of-doors rendered very attractive the numerous visits to the Lea relatives in and near Wilmington, with its adjacent Brandywine, a rich field for botanizing. In 1842, speaking of one of the frequent visits at the homes of his father's connections in that vicinity, Henry mentioned in the "Journal" his meeting with a cousin "Chris," who had come from Cincinnati to pay a visit in Wilmington. With this first cousin he became very friendly. He was Christian Febiger, born in 1817, the son of Isaac Lea's sister Hannah, who had married Christian Carson Febiger, adopted son of Christian Febiger of Denmark, a Colonel in the Continental Army. Left a widow in 1829, Hannah Febiger had remarried in Cincinnati in 1832. There she resided until 1860, when, her second husband having died, she moved to Wilmington, Delaware. A special interest attaches to the early friendship of Henry C. Lea for Christian Febiger. It was his son, Christian C. Febiger, whom Lea made a partner in his publishing business at the time of its reorganization as Henry C. Lea's Son & Co., in 1880. The son of this partner, Christian Febiger, is a member of the third firm in the succession thereafter, Lea & Febiger.

Henry visited many of his connections residing in the country near Wilmington: Mortons, Tatnalls, Warners, Canbys and others. There were hunts for birds and flowers along the Brandywine with Edward Tatnall, who knew where to find the rarest, as well as being canny in such lore as the manufacture from cuttings of hickory and poplar of country hygrometers which indicated by certain contortions the presence of underground springs. This contact with his family, of whom he was told there were, "in and about Wilmington, not counting farther than the second generation, about one hundred and fifty relatives," was exceedingly valuable to a shy and sensitive boy. It deepened his sense of race and tradition to see the old family furniture, and to hear the stories of his ancestors. One night there were thirty "cousins" at once at the Warners, and the next day William Canby took them all to visit the powder mill of Alexis duPont, where Henry was interested in the practical if somewhat menacing use to which his beloved chemistry was put. The next morning being "First Day" they all pursued their way, with charming irrelevance, to a pacific Friends' meeting.

The interest in botany eventually took a minor position because of the gradual emergence of the lad's original researches in conchology, which for a time completely occupied him. In March, 1842, he noted in the "Journal:"

"Last spring all my botanical ardor . . . was changed to a conchological one. I scribbled a paper on some fossils from Claiborne and it was printed in *Silliman's Journal* of January, 1841, . . . and one on some shells from the Delaware Bay, which I obtained by the delightful process of washing oysters and examining the 'sedimentary' mud and sand."

The study of conchology Henry had begun at an early age, receiving, of course, a great deal of valuable stimulation from his father. But now apparently he had begun to work independently. As early as 1839, at the age of fourteen,¹ Henry had been corresponding and exchanging specimens of shells with other collectors as far west as California, as well as in Vienna, Bremen and Paris. At last his study found fruit in the paper to which he refers above, his first printed article, for its publication preceded by a few months the article on manganese, although the latter was the earlier in composition. "A Description of Some New Species of Fossil Shells from the Eocene at Claiborne, Alabama," as the "Journal" states, was published in January, 1841, in *Silliman's Journal*. This paper was followed during the next eight years by five printed articles² on his original investigations in the same science. The "process of washing oysters," which the "Journal" mentions, led him to another article the same year; for in December *Silliman's* printed his "Description of Eight New Species of Shells," all of which he had found with the oysters.

After a lapse of two years, during which he occupied himself chiefly with other sciences and with poetry, he returned for diversion to the study of shells, not only going on long expeditions to secure specimens, but also opening the bellies of large fish, especially cod, in the hope of finding undigested treasures there. He was practising, with considerable skill, the drawing of these forms of marine life, an occupation requiring fidelity, accuracy and preciseness of hand. His skill was sufficient to per-

¹ "Journal."

² See Bibliography.

suade his father to allow him to draw the illustrations for one of his articles, and Henry proudly records, "I believe that I succeeded very tolerably, at least to father's satisfaction, which is quite sufficient."

At the age of eighteen he amusingly discusses a dilemma concerning the publication of his best and longest work in this field. On February 18, a month before he entered business, the "Journal" entry reads:

"I have today nearly concluded a long paper, containing descriptions of more than a hundred species of tertiary fossils from Virginia, with drawings. I do not know what to do with it. It is too long for *Silliman*; I cannot send it to the Academy, or it will be put in the hands of Morton and Conrad who consider that the Atlantic tertiary belongs to them, and nothing remains but the *Transactions*" (of the Philosophical Society) "and I am too diffident . . . for that. So between the three stools I seem to be aground."

Three months later he wrote that the paper would be one of a number read at the proposed Centennial Celebration of the American Philosophical Society. It was read by his friend and former teacher, Professor Booth, on the fifth and last day of the convention, May 30. Henry treated the matter lightly.

"My fossils were successfully delivered before the society of Philosophers, and my modesty prevents me from remembering the compliments I received . . . A precious circle of big-wigs they are! Such prosing and doubting, and ordering, and gentle disturbing, and what-notting never was and never will be as the grand Centennial Meeting of the cosmopolitan American Philosophers."

Yet in spite of this disparagement, he could not have been unaware that the acceptance and subsequent publication

of the work of one so young by the venerable Society of Benjamin Franklin was a distinguished compliment. His researches continued almost to the time of his entrance into business, and some of the results did not receive publication until after that event. In 1844 his "Descriptions of Some New Species of Marine Shells" was read before the Boston Society of Natural History, which published the work in its annual *Proceedings*. In 1848 his "Catalogue of Tertiary Testacea" was printed in the *Proceedings of the Philadelphia Academy of the Natural Sciences*, and in 1850 his "Description of a New Genus of the Family Melaniana" found a coveted place in the *Proceedings of the London Zoölogical Society*.¹

An inquiring and scientific mind engaged in research among fossil shells would naturally glean considerable information on the subject of geology. As early as 1842 Henry was asked by his father to write an article on a new text-book, *Trimmer's Geology*. In every field he had a faculty for exact observation and statement. At that time it happened to be science; later on, when he turned to history, his method remained the same. An instance of his natural power of observation occurred in the summer of 1842 when he was ordered to go to the mountains for

¹ "Henry C. Lea published seven papers on mollusks between 1841 and 1848. Four of these relate to fossil (Tertiary) species; in them 119 new species were described. Also 2 new genera, both of them strongly distinct groups, which turned out to have a long geologic range and numerous species. He published three papers on recent (still living) shells, describing 14 new species. One of them he discovered in the Wissahickon valley; now known from all our northern states. In 1850 he published a paper in collaboration with Isaac Lea, in which 1 new genus and 51 new species of fresh water shells were described." Letter from Henry A. Pilsbry, Curator, Department of Mollusks and Marine Invertebrates, Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, March 7, 1931.

the improvement of his health. He went to a house in Pottsville, to visit his uncle by marriage, Captain Thomas J. Baird, U. S. A., who was then in charge of the St. Clair coal tract, opened and developed by Lea's two uncles, Henry C. and Edward L. Carey about 1833. He explored the country for miles in every direction, his attention alert to the various phases of mining, which was new to him. When he returned to Philadelphia he brought a note-book crammed with information about mining, its methods, the mineralogy and metallurgy involved, and even some practical details concerning the financing of the business. It was partly from this material that he wrote in popular style a paper called "The Uses of Geology," and sent it to the *Saturday Courier* with an unsuccessful offer to sell it for the sum of three dollars. Any unfamiliar phenomenon challenged his attention. In 1843 a new comet appeared, which he observed the night previous to the announcement of its discovery by the newspapers. At once he began to study comets, until he had acquired considerable information about them, but he did not stop here, for he reflects characteristically in his "Journal:"

"I wonder what would be its effect were it to pass over the earth? Whatever it might be, I think that I should like it. I love to watch any convulsion of Nature, and a tremendous thunder storm is delightful to me, the more awful, the better. It always creates a kind of opposition in me that raises my spirits and makes me feel better for hours afterwards. Besides, in the case of the comet, it would be pleasant to die at the same time with the earth."

It is worthwhile to summarize Lea's accomplishments in science before passing to the literary period of his life. Between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five years, in

nine years from boyhood to early manhood, we have followed his work in chemistry, botany and conchology. In the laboratory he was given the task of investigating the salts of manganese, then little known, and his discoveries were deemed worthy of publication in the foremost scientific journal of the time. In botany his excursions afoot around Philadelphia and Cape May made him familiar with all the plants and trees of these exceedingly fertile regions. In conchology it might be said that the discovery and naming of a single new shell would today be an achievement perpetuating the fame of the fortunate scientist forever. Here was a mere youth who discovered and named no less than 133 new species of mollusks, and, what is still more remarkable, 2 new genera. To his individual work should be added credit for 1 new genus and 51 new species of fresh water shells discovered and published in coöperation with his father.¹ All these discoveries were read before the leading scientific societies, accepted by them, and published in their proceedings. Such was his modesty that after the publication of his last scientific paper he quietly laid aside science for history, though he might have become equally famous in either field.

We have followed Lea's scientific studies from early boyhood until his entrance into business. During much of the same period he was experimenting as well with poetry and literature. At times it seemed to him that he possessed a greater aptitude for poetry or criticism than for science. This direction of his mind led to the publication of poetry and essays at an early age, and some attention should be given them. He began the writing of poetry in earnest in 1841, when he was sixteen. Again and again

¹ See footnote, page 56.

an especially interesting adventure in science would temporarily dispel the zeal for literature; but afterwards it would return, strengthened. By 1843, on the eve of his beginning business, he had nearly decided to become a writer. In February, he wrote in the "Journal:"

"What between poetry and science and other *kindred* studies, I have enough on my hands . . . I wish that I could definitely turn my thoughts to one, in which case I would kick all the others to — . . . I would most certainly cleave to poetry, which I almost adore, did I believe that I have power to carry it out, but there always comes in some vile doubt . . ."

The "vile doubt" and the writing of verse proceeded together until fate took a hand in the matter and decided that he should become neither poet nor scientist. No great poet was lost in Henry Charles Lea's business career, yet one wonders at the fecundity and richness of his imagination at an early age, and at the industry which enabled him to produce so much verse at the same time that he was doing many other things. His best work, a translation of the Odes of Anacreon, seems worthy of preservation. However, he completed in these years approximately two hundred other poems, in which one finds a surprisingly wide range of subject and, occasionally, even insight. The expression, however, though always exact, is generally prosaic.

Sincerity was his predominant characteristic. Out of his voluminous reading of poetry sprang those many passages in his "Journal" indicating his ambition and earnestness. He wrote:

"The past six months seem to have made a difference of six years in my feelings, and I already begin to tire

of this world . . . I have been reading much of and about Byron lately, and this may have thrown me into the above train of thought. What a man he was! If one could only have his genius without his faults, his strength without his impurity, there is nothing on earth I would not give to possess them. But, and 'Aye! there's the rub,' strong passions, like strong drinks, always produce intoxication, and the god falls from his pedestal . . . Now, some three years hence, when I shall have settled down as a comfortable cob in business, how I shall laugh at myself for having ever been such a fool! . . . I looked over the 'Hours of Idleness' the other day to see what there was of good in the volume, and came to the conclusion that there were only some six worth having."

So he wrote, in 1843:

"To be known as a household word. To be in every one's soul. To feel that thousands are looking up to you from every quarter. To direct the energies of the human mind and to be handed down to posterity as one of the spirits of the age; to steal into men's bosoms and be there as a familiar spirit; these are the things which are worthy the struggle of the intellect. For these I would risk all but the soul."

At the age of sixteen, Henry began the writing of verse with an enthusiasm which brought to completion about seventy-five poems the first year. In four years he was ready to compile from all he had written a manuscript volume of the one hundred and fifty that he thought the best. This volume, never published, he entitled *The Student's Tale, and Other Poems*, and he printed by hand on the title page the pen-name "H. Carter Layton," which he never afterwards employed. It may be said that while these are interesting and correct examples of versification, sometimes even ingenious in structure, they

lack the inspiration of poetry. His subjects were chosen from Nature, war and history, with a large admixture of what passes, at the age of sixteen or seventeen, for the "gentle passion."

One can see in retrospect what the boy himself could not possibly have known, that his gift was the analysis of evidence, the presentation of fact; the determination of what concrete things are or have been, not the vision of what dreams there are or might be; the truth of history, not the truth of poetry. In 1843, on going to hear the opera, *I Puritani*, he wrote:

"Instead of poetically allowing myself to be carried away by the music and acting, part of the time I was endeavoring to look into the actors . . . I thought of the prima donna, apparently glowing with health and beauty, and radiant with jewels. I looked at her in the morning. Rising at half-past twelve, and scarcely able to stand; head swimming, eyes dark and sunken, cheeks streaked with disordered rouge and furrowed by premature old age."

There his imagination stopped, unable to take the next step of interpretation which poetry demands.

His translations, in which he was furnished the poetic vision by the original, and could himself supply the knowledge of technique and the careful scholarship requisite, were much better. This he recognized when he published in 1882 his only volume of poetry, and entitled it *Translations and Other Rhymes*, recognizing in the order of his words the value of the contents. As early as 1842 he wrote in the "Journal:"

"I abominate the little commonplaces that so many fools seem to think worthy of a place in the 'valuable

columns' of a newspaper, and have therefore chiefly confined myself to translations. I am at present spoiling some of the Greek epigrammatists, such as Anacreon, Alcæus, and last, but not least, Sappho."

His translation of the Odes of Anacreon deserves mention in the English literature of translation. The Greek text of the poems was acquired in a manner typical of the boy and the man. In 1837 he had been carried away by an enthusiasm for Greek literature. In a book shop he saw an antiquated copy of Anacreon, which he paged through, with the result that he yearned to read it all. But the panic of 1837 brought such stringency that he had just been told that there was need of economy, and he felt that the second-hand price of the book, fifteen cents, was more than he should spend, taking too literally his father's injunction, as a very sensitive boy of twelve might have done. But, as few of that age would have done, he made many subsequent visits to the free library, where he laboriously copied out the entire text of Anacreon, incidentally learning more Greek than he could have acquired in any other way. The result was the first of his collection of manuscripts. Several years later, in 1841, the idea of translating these odes, which he so greatly admired in the original, was suggested to him by his inability to find any English renderings which did them justice. Moore's he liked as poems, but their lack of faithfulness to the originals troubled him. Between December, 1841 and July, 1843 he painstakingly worked over his own English translations, until he had completed an anthology of the sixty-eight authenticated odes, and the ten attributed ones, as well as all of the English

translations that he could find of the First Ode, namely twelve. These he arranged for printing with copious notes revealing excellent judgment of Greek literary works and a broad knowledge of classical mythology. Although he designed a title page and bound the volume as for the printer, it does not appear that he ever changed the opinion expressed in his "Journal" that it would be of no use to show the work to any publisher, for the reasons "that these are execrable times, in which nobody purchases what they can avoid, and that this is an execrable country, in which not one out of five hundred thousand knows or cares anything about Anacreon."

He translated best those odes most epigrammatic in quality, as any one acquainted with his conversation and political writing in later life would naturally suppose. Ode II is a good example.

Each living thing benignant Heaven
Some weapon for defense has given.
The bull she armed with horns, the horse
With hoofs that spurn the flying course.
To the fierce lion, teeth she gave;
Untiring speed to aid the hare;
While fishes cleave the crested wave,
And birds can soar in liquid air.
Then, to her favorite, Man, she brought
Her brightest gift, the power of thought.
To him alone she this assigned,
Denying it to woman-kind.
Then what to them did she award?
Beauty, all other arms above.
For she need fear nor fire nor sword
Whose charms can waken willing love.

In March, 1843, he wrote, "My translations from Anacreon now amount to thirty-six, more than half the whole.

Many of these, of course, are very poor, and will have to be done again." The next week he translated Ode XL, one of his best in the quatrain style:

Once Cupid, in the Paphian bower,
Was wounded by a bee,
That lay concealed beneath a flower
Which he plucked heedlessly.

He cried, and wrung his little hands,
And, with a fluttering wing,
He runs to where his mother stands
That she relief may bring.

'Oh! quick from me this poison take,
I faint, I die,' cries he.
'I'm wounded by a wingèd snake
That shepherds call a bee.'

'If thus a bee, with puny sting,
Can torture,' answers she,
'What ten-fold anguish dost *thou* bring
To those who 're stung by thee!'

Ode XLIX, one of the finest of Anacreon's, challenged all of his powers, and he worked over it many times before it satisfied his judgment of the pictorial beauty of the original. He justly pays tribute in his note to this poem as one of the gems of classical literature and explains briefly the poet's object: "This is a graphic description of a gem on which was engraved a representation of Venus Anadyomene:"

Who engraved this placid ocean?
Who, with god-inspired art,
Did the billows' playful motion
To this polished gem impart?

Who, with heaven in his soul,
Sculptured Cytherea fair?
Who her tender image stole,
And impressed her beauty there?

The mother of the gods he made,
Floating o'er the ocean's breast;
Partly he her charms displayed—
Heaving waves concealed the rest.

See, she cuts that rising billow,
Which her rosy bosom laves,
As she quits her watery pillow
Midst the snowy-crested waves.

O'er the ocean's depths profound
Her rapturous beauty is displayed,
As a lily's, when around
Purple violets are laid.

And mounting on their dolphins fleet,
Cupid and Desire are seen
Laughing at the hearts that beat
And writhe beneath their arrows keen.

Round the smiling Paphian queen,
Bands of fishes merrily
Sporting cleave the water's green,
O'er the ever-changing sea.

His absorption in the classics during this period bore critical as well as poetical fruit. The first but one of that large number of literary articles from his pen before he was twenty was inspired by Greek literature. In 1843 he had begun the practice of buying books, which he pursued in increasing measure throughout his life. He watched the auctions, preferring good old editions, which he purchased shrewdly. After buying a seven-volume Plato for thirty cents, he lamented having paid a whole dollar for

the three-volume Leipzig edition of the *Greek Anthology*, but he prudently repaired the loss by hewing two articles out of it and selling them. Of "Greek Epitaphs and Inscriptions," he recorded, May 19, 1843, "Today I sent off my 'Greek Epitaphs' to the *Knickerbocker*." He at first despaired of this as a profitable venture. On May 27, he wrote:

"I received a polite letter from W. Gaylord Clarke, Editor of the *Knickerbocker*. He appears to incline toward my 'Epitaphs,' but finds it difficult to swallow my gentle hint respecting 'terms,' which I dropped in my accompanying note. He informs me that their expenses are so great, and receipts so precarious, that 'at present' they cannot afford to lay out more for 'literary material' . . . Now, what am I to do? I do not like the idea of writing for nothing, I do not like the idea of not writing, and I do not like the idea of my written article wasting its sweetness on the desert air. Altogether, though my dilemma has three horns, I do not find it a whit more agreeable than if it had but two."

He finally won his point and the article proudly took the leading place in the August number of the periodical. It is not unusual, except as the work of so young a writer. It displays a mature knowledge of Greek life, and a good sense of humor in the translations of the Greek epigrams of which he writes. His other article on a classical theme, "The Greek Symposium and its Materials," appeared in the *Southern Literary Messenger* two years later.

A few of the poems and translations of these years, besides those included in the two articles previously mentioned, found their way into print in a manner extremely amusing. The editor of *The Saturday Courier* had pre-

viously aroused the ire of Henry by neither printing nor returning his paper on "The Uses of Geology," thereby causing its loss, since the author had kept no copy. However, he resolved to try again, and began to send the *Courier* verses for insertion. These were always acknowledged, but never reproduced, and the manner of the editor seemed so patronizing, especially since the young poet found verses he thought not so good as his own printed in this periodical, that he conceived at last a very low estimation of the editor and planned to test his opinion. In March, 1842, he sent in a copy of some verses of Byron, which he signed "A Beginner," and was delighted to see them inserted in the next issue, with the editorial comment that they were very creditable "for a beginner." Henry at once sent, in his own name, a letter taking the editor to task for his lack of knowledge of English poetry; and the editor had to admit his error publicly in the next issue, with a scathing tirade against the person who could have practised such deceit.

In May Henry again sent a contribution, this time of five translations which eventually became his first published poems. The editor neither acknowledged them, used them, nor sent them back, in spite of their author's letters. At the same time the poetry column contained each week what Henry called "sentimental rubbish." At last he wrote in burlesque mood some verses in the same perfervid manner, and submitted them over the name of *Pindarius*. He was delighted to see them solemnly inserted, with editorial tribute to their sincerity and without editorial correction of the misspelled pen-name. The boy was so amused at the success of his extravagant

hoax that he continued the practice of sending what he called "ridiculous verses under the name of Thomas Wilde and his sister Emma Wilde." The first contributions were inserted; thereafter the several effusions received "honorable mention." The author could hardly regard it as a compliment when the *Courier* suddenly inserted the translations which he had sent many months before.

Meanwhile Henry was turning his attention to the writing of criticism. In 1841, when he was but sixteen, his first critical article, "Brougham's *Miscellanies*," had been published in the *United States Gazette*. Two years later the acceptance of his "Greek Epitaphs," already mentioned, lent him confidence to continue his efforts as a critic. It was not until early in 1844 that his next article appeared, but during the preceding year he had settled down earnestly to the task of criticism, and had produced several papers. On April 21, after long and thoughtful reading of Coleridge, which had extended over many weeks, he wrote in the "Journal:"

"The other day I wrote a long critique on Coleridge, of some twenty-three foolscap pages. I have been thinking of inditing various essays on some of the late English poets, and sending them to some magazine for a 'consideration' but do not know exactly what to do with them. The one I had fixed on was the *Magnolia*, as it is conducted by a man of taste and talent, W. G. Simms, the novelist, but the proprietors of that are in a bad way from non-paying 'subs.' In the last number there appeared a circular, stating that if they do not pay up, the magazine will run off the tracks . . . I have treated Coleridge very impartially. Cut him up in some places and praised him in others, and sprinkled the whole with Greek, Latin, French and German, so as to make it look very learned. It will charm anyone who gets it."

The article was sent to Simms, whose resignation from the failing *Magnolia* the following month caused the article to be lost. No copy of it had been preserved.

But once under way, Henry worked furiously at his new interest. Besides the "Epitaphs" and "Coleridge," he completed in that same month a long article on Tennyson, subsequently published. In two years he produced eighteen articles of a critical nature. Yet in spite of his frankness with himself and in the pages of his "Journal," he was characterized, then and throughout his life, by a reticence about his activities, and the tendency to hide his works until they revealed themselves. Not even his brother Carey, who was his most intimate confidant, nor his father, his ever-sympathetic preceptor, was aware of his publishing verse and criticism until accident brought the fact to light. On May 19, 1843, Henry wrote:

"My good brother Carey has just been turning reviewer also . . . He, however, is all fair and above board. I am all dark and mysterious. . . . He has been writing a critique on Hindostan for the *North American*. May it be accepted! . . . He has taken a fancy to persuade me to follow his example—and my gentle bashfulness and modesty in refusing, while I have three ready in my desk, two of which have been packed off!"

Having lost the Coleridge article, however, he confided in his father in respect to the "Tennyson," and was advised to send it to the *North American Review*. In May he wrote, "I have let it go seek its fate from the Editor of the *North American Review*; or at least, my father sent it, with a little note to Mr. Bancroft, in Boston, recommending it to his paternal care . . . I am afraid that it is too strong in tone for 'my grandfather's Review'."

The youthful critic was not enthusiastic about the work which Tennyson had at that time produced. The editor did not disagree with the reviewer, for although another entry in the "Journal" states that the article was not accepted by the *North American Review*, its rejection was not caused by its critical opinions. "The editor thinks it good enough, but that it is not worth while to 'gibbet' a man who is destined to fall into rapid oblivion!" No one less than a prophet, obviously, was worthy the persecution of Boston. The article, however, was published in the April number of the *Southern Literary Messenger*, in 1844.

The published critical articles cover a wide range of reading. In the *Southern Literary Messenger* appeared a long series from his pen on: "Leigh Hunt," "Barry Cornwall," "Elizabeth Barrett Browning," "Eliza Cook," "L. E. L.," "William Motherwell," "Ménage," "The Greek Symposium," and "Festus." In various other periodicals were published "Quarles' *Divine Fancies*," "Desultory Thoughts by a Scribbler," "Ireland and the Shakespeare Forgeries," "Irish Literature," and others. There are characteristic evidences of the quality of the author's mind in these articles. His unfavorable criticisms were as a usual thing just. Besides, he was able to restrain his enthusiastic personal preferences and to exercise that deliberate and objective view which is the duty of criticism. While he liked the material of Eliza Cook, he criticised her for a lack of restraint and discipline. He admired "L. E. L.," and enjoyed her work more than that of certain better poets, yet he avoided calling her "great," or even second-rate, in comparison, for instance, with Mrs. Browning, whose work, in spite of what he deemed

an unpleasant "masculine" quality, he thought approached excellence. In criticising Leigh Hunt's anthology, "Imagination and Fancy," he displayed in his treatment of the weak prefatory essay on "What is Poetry," his own firm knowledge of English prosody. He could criticise Barry Cornwall for posing, for sentimentality and for plagiarizing on Moore, without slighting the graceful gift of lyricism which Cornwall possessed. In treating William Motherwell he cut straight to the essential heart of an appreciation of that poet by finding his explanation in "those pure sources of inspiration, the old ballads of his country;" yet while personally admiring him, he put Motherwell squarely among the "minor poets, who are stars, indeed, not the less that there be others of still brighter radiance."

The knowledge of history displayed in the article on *Ménage*, at first surprising, becomes entirely comprehensible to anyone who peruses the "Journal." He said less of his interest in history than of other things, perhaps, but one sees that this was caused by his regarding it as a hobby rather than as work. The reading of history had been a constant diversion with him since the age of eight, when he had been required by his tutor to take historical events as subjects for composition. From that time on he was always dipping into some work of history, and making observations on it. The earliest entry in the "Journal" is a digest of an account in an unnamed work on the Spanish Inquisition, giving the numbers of victims of *auto-da-fe* over a certain period. So far as one can discover, this is his first piece of research, made in 1839, on that subject which was to form the material of his principal work. Later on he was reading Hume, and noting the weaknesses as well as the virtues of that his-

torian. The future author of *Superstition and Force* was interested, at the age of sixteen, in the history of law, as one sees by his analysis of the great number of offences which under English law were punishable with death as late as 1820. At the age of eighteen he recorded statistics demonstrating that Napoleon, in spite of his enormous expenditures, was able by economy to reduce greatly the rate of taxes in France; and he applied this fact at once to the mounting costs of the corrupt Philadelphia "gang" government, in which waste and selfish abuse of power were consuming the substance of the people. At the age of seventeen, he was discussing in his "Journal" the impending tariff bill with an independence of judgment that was much more than an echo of the principles so persistently upheld by his uncle, Henry C. Carey.

On March 13, 1843, in the midst of the first period of his critical writing, Henry brought his formal education to a close, and entered his father's business.¹ He entertained considerable apprehension as to the outcome of this step. His many intellectual interests had recently driven him to a more than usual degree of overwork, and he was suffering from a severe recurrence of headache.

¹ "By 1843 boyhood was over. At the age of eighteen a new period opened with his entrance into his father's publishing house, and thus commenced a business career which was to last for thirty-seven years, till his retirement in 1880. As a youth, during the next four years he worked hard at business in the daytime and equally hard at his studies late at night and early in the morning. Few persons can look over the files of the magazines from 1843 to 1846 and realize without astonishment that the sixteen or more long articles signed by Henry C. Lea were the work of a young business man of eighteen to twenty-one, regularly occupied during the long working hours of that period." Cheyney, E. P.: *On the Life and Works of Henry Charles Lea*, *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 50, No. 198.

It seemed more than likely to him that the attempt to combine business with study and writing must end in failure or ill health. Yet he had been bred to the acceptance of responsibility, and to the duty of economic productiveness. He determined, whatever the risks, to attempt to carry on his studies at night while devoting his days to business. Although the strain was great, he at first succeeded. The translation of Anacreon was completed, and sixteen of his literary articles were written and published after he had entered business. The "Journal" indicates all this, as well as the doubts as to his future which rendered his decision difficult. "I suppose," he wrote, "that as I am fast verging on eighteen, I shall soon have to quit study and enter on business. This, with my present tastes, is not the most agreeable prospect in the world, but money, money, money! . . . However unpleasant the getting of it may be, the spending of it is something to be taken into consideration." At last the time arrived, and he wrote, "Today my last quarter is up with Mr. Nulty, and I may now consider as completed what is usually called education. I feel, however, that mine is just begun. In a few days I shall enter my father's store, to commence my active life. Where and what shall I be at the end of ten years,—or five—or three? Where? and what?" He was also grieved at the prospect of leaving his old tutor, for whom he cherished a lasting affection. Now he wrote:

"What makes me chiefly unwilling to leave off study is the consideration of what is to become of Mr. Nulty. At present his only students are my brother, myself, and another. Carey also will soon have to quit him, . . . and then, what he is to do, is a hard question . . . He has a wife and four children . . . entirely dependent

on his efforts. No place or office can possibly be had now, and I fear, if he obtained it, his disposition is not such as would render him comfortable."

His first year of business should have warned him of the need of moderation, yet he continued his efforts until he was forced to simplify his life. The energy which he put into the mastery of the publishing business alone was a sufficient strain for any man, and left him unfitted for writing after the day was done. In a few years of such self-imposed overwork he induced his first serious illness. In 1847 his physician, Dr. Hugh L. Hodge, warned him that if he continued to work all day and study most of the night he would die in six months. It was then many years before his boyhood companion, S. Weir Mitchell, one of the great minds of the medical profession, had gathered the symptoms of overstrain into a disease which he called nervous exhaustion. Since it is rarely fatal, Lea's condition must have been grave indeed to justify such a warning from Dr. Hodge. He obeyed by giving up for ten years the literary work he loved, a great sacrifice, but it was efficacious. He therefore reserved his working powers entirely for business. His application was intensified by finding that a partner, not of the family, was planning to force the family out. Being denied access to the books by day he stayed at night and mastered the business in principle and detail, a command he strengthened as the years went by. He was an impartial analyst of his own disposition, and concluding that solitary study was his strongest temptation, he mixed with men, enjoying his contacts with those who were normal, and handling with skill those who were eccentric. One of the latter, encountered in his first year at business, he thus described in the "Journal:"

"I was much amused yesterday at an *author* who was at the store. As Mr. Blanchard was out, I had the refusal of him. He wished to publish a pamphlet containing an account of an interview of sixteen hours' duration with 500 ghosts somewhere in South Carolina. He considered that every family in the world would wish to possess a copy, and therefore that the sale would be a brisk one. He was also desirous of having plenty of plates to it . . . I proposed that there should be a portrait of each ghost, and the fellow grinned with delight at this proposition. . . . He was evidently crazy, and I humored him, informing him that we publish no pamphlets, and finally packed him off to —— & Co., since when I have heard nothing of him."

Of the severe illness of 1847 already referred to, the young author had several earlier warnings. The first of these, in fact, occurred after five months in business. It was then, late in August, that he first visited Cape May, New Jersey. This place was to play an important part in his life in later years. It agreed with him so well that he frequently revisited it, and for many years maintained a summer home there. On this visit he found much to attract him, the ocean bathing, the botanizing in fields and swamps, the long walks which he took over the country-side. Later, in 1869, he built at 9 Grant Street his summer home, so near the sea that it caught the beach breeze. Afterward, for many years, he lived there in summer, botanizing and walking in the morning, and working during the afternoon and generally far into the night on the historical studies for which he brought ample materials. On this first visit, his recovery was so rapid that he was deceived into a false sense of security, and on his return to Philadelphia, redoubled his exertions. Apparently he did not at once begin to husband his strength. For instance, in 1844, without thought of the

consequences to his health, he exposed himself to dangerous fatigue during the so-called "Native American Riots."¹ These outbreaks were originally caused by the importation, from 1828 onward, of foreign skilled labor to operate the new machines which were rapidly replacing the old methods of hand manufacture in the weaving industry in Philadelphia. Many of these new workers were Irish Catholics, and religious feeling was thus introduced into the economic situation. The succession of minor riots led in 1844 to loss of life, and culminated in a serious armed disturbance that began on May 3 and was not finally quelled until July 7. The "Native Americans" centered their attack on Catholic property, especially the eleven Catholic churches then in Philadelphia and contiguous districts. St. Michael's and St. Augustine's were burned to the ground. Naturally, peace-loving citizens of every belief were united in the desire to stop these outrages, and since the militia proved unable to control the situation, primarily because many of the members were in sympathy with the offenders, a group of leading citizens was organized by Mayor John M. Scott to prevent further vandalism and bloodshed. A guard was established in each church during the height of the trouble, early in July. Lea was active in the movement. As he later told a correspondent, he "mounted guard with a musket for two days and two nights over St. Patrick's, at Locust Street and Schuylkill Third." This is only one of the many instances of his unwillingness to surrender, but Nature finally conquered, as has been said, in 1847. For ten years he was to be seriously handicapped as a result of this illness.

¹ For an account of these disturbances, see Oberholtzer, E. P.: *Philadelphia, a History of the City and Its People*, Philadelphia, n. d., vol. 2, pp. 291-296.

CHAPTER III

PUBLISHER AND PATRIOT

THE causes of Lea's first breakdown, in 1847, have been explained. His recovery was slow and every attempt to resume his studies brought on a recurrence of his illness. When his friends and his physician at last persuaded him that he must confine himself to one occupation, he settled down to the task of becoming a good business man, and succeeded admirably. Yet it was only by the exercise of the most rigid self-control for years that he resisted the constant temptation to follow some one of the alluring paths of research that invited his inquiring and energetic intellect. It was not until eleven years later, in 1858, that articles began again to appear from his pen; and he was forty-one years of age when his first book, *Superstition and Force* (1866) was published.

However, this volume might have seen the light several years earlier, had it not been for the distractions and the disorganization of his life experienced by the historian during the Civil War. The researches on which it rested had been brought to an advanced stage by 1858. During that year and the two which followed there appeared a series of reviews of certain historical works, showing by their authoritative tone that Lea had progressed a great distance along a new and difficult path, that of the historian. These were more than perfunctory reviews;¹ they were well-studied articles, rich in background and in reference to a multitude of other works in the same field.

¹ See Bibliography.

Brought to a finer finish and ampler scope they formed the basis of *Superstition and Force*.¹ In some ways Lea's turning from literature to history was an accidental result of his first period of illness. It was a fortunate accident indeed which directed his attention to the thing for which he was naturally best fitted. Years later he explained to Professor Dana C. Munro, then a student, how his enforced "intellectual leisure," as he called it, had caused him to seek out for amusement the works of the French chroniclers; especially Froissart, but also the *Religieux de Saint Denis*, and Villehardouin's *Conquête de Constantinople*. Speculations as to the accuracy of Froissart caused him to send abroad for his first works of historical reference; one book led to another until he found himself reading for pleasure many works of history, especially those on the Middle Ages, while his retentive memory was rapidly storing up the large body of information for which he became noted, and developing that keen critical sense which distinguished his later work.

For many years, however, the reading of history was pursued merely as the recreation of a crowded business life, and the young publisher saw little hope of being able to find time for creative work as a historian. His business life became ever more exacting. In 1851, Lea succeeded his father as a member of the firm,² and he labored with unflagging zeal to advance the interests of Blanchard & Lea, as it was then called. It is a curious fact that Henry Charles Lea, although he became one of the most distinguished business men of his time, did not regard himself as fitted for business, possibly because he recognized how

¹ See Chapter IV, pp. 117-128.

² For a brief history of the business house, see Chapter I, pp. 24-30.

strongly his tastes ran in other directions. The effect of this conviction was not to lead him into slackness. Proceeding on the assumption that other business men were more gifted, he felt that he must redouble his efforts, and match their supposed superior abilities by his superior diligence. However wrong his estimate of himself may have been, it was an admirable basis for successful accomplishment. He felt deeply his responsibility to carry on the tradition of his ancestors, and his duty to his own family. One finds in his later correspondence evidence that he began quite early to look forward to the time when he might retire and turn his energies to research; but a series of circumstances successively delayed this possibility. Meanwhile, he made the most of his business career, and, as his strength permitted, he slowly developed his background as a student of history.

He also gave devoted attention to the growing demands of his family. He married, May 27, 1850, his first cousin Anna Caroline Jaudon, elder daughter of William Latta and Susan Gibson (Lea) Jaudon, of Cincinnati. The younger daughter, Elizabeth Lea Jaudon, widow of William W. Bakewell, married, July 14, 1852, M. Carey Lea, the brother of the historian.¹ After his marriage, Henry Charles Lea resided at 1427 Spruce Street, where his first three children were born: Francis Henry (born March 24, 1851; died March 26, 1902), Charles Matthew (born March 7, 1853; died November 4, 1927) and Anna (Nina) (born May 13, 1855; died August 26, 1927).² In

¹ See *Ancestry and Posterity of John Lea*, pp. 97, 145, 146, 148.

² Francis and Nina never married. Charles married (1) Helen Vaughan Cope on October 27, 1880. She died June 3, 1886. He married (2) Charlotte Augusta (Hopkins) Brown on December 3, 1895. Arthur married Caroline Tyler Brown on March 2, 1897. She died August 14, 1930.

1857 the family moved to 3903 Spruce Street. There Lea's youngest son was born, Arthur Henry, who, with his older brother, Charles Matthew, conducted the publishing house for many years after the retirement of their father. In 1869 Lea moved to 2000 Walnut Street, a large double house which he had planned and built to accommodate his family of four growing children. His library by that time had become very large, and he was acquiring books with increasing rapidity. He planned what he supposed would be sufficient space to house it, but in the next ten years his acquisitions so far exceeded his earlier expectation that he found it necessary to make new provisions. In 1881 he added a lofty single story library building and study with a gallery. Even this proved in time to be inadequate, and he later added another building to the south as an overflow bookroom.¹

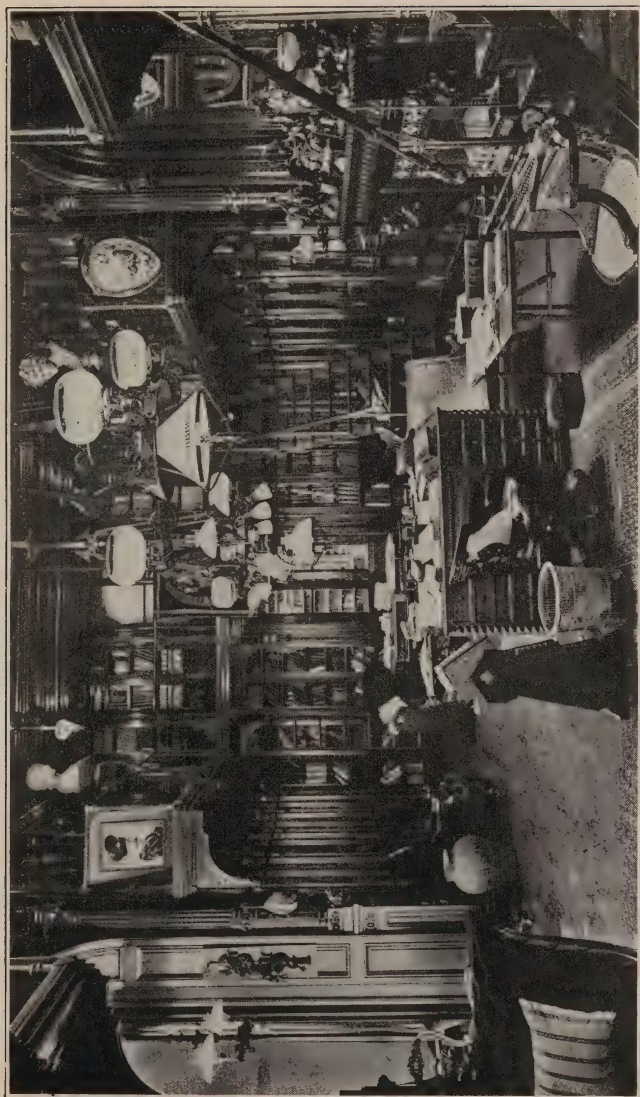
Henry Charles Lea preferred a life of studious simplicity. For society, in the usual sense, he cared but little, and he seldom left the retirement of his study at night, even in his earlier years. His routine was beyond all else orderly, both because he desired it to be so, and because efficiency, in his case, demanded this precaution: a strict regulation of the hours devoted to business, to personal affairs, to his family, to his books. He seldom sought recreation, although he never restricted the movements of his family in this respect. In the matter of vacation he was equally orderly, and did not relish the cessation of work which many sought. As time went on he formed the habit,

¹ This beautiful library has been moved with its interior, and its valuable collection of books and Mss. to the University of Pennsylvania Library, of which it is now a wing. The "Henry Charles Lea Library and Reading Room" was built and given to the University by his daughter, Nina Lea, and his son and daughter-in-law, Arthur H. Lea and Caroline Tyler Lea.



RESIDENCE OF HENRY CHARLES LEA

2000 WALNUT STREET, PHILADELPHIA. BUILT 1869, LIBRARY BUILDING ADDED 1881,
BOOK-ROOM IN REAR ADDED LATER



INTERIOR OF LIBRARY OF HENRY CHARLES LEA

SHOWING BOOK-ROOM THROUGH DOORWAY AT REAR



THE HENRY CHARLES LEA LIBRARY AND READING ROOM. UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

THIRTY-FOURTH AND LOCUST STREETS, PHILADELPHIA

during certain weeks of the spring and autumn, of visiting the Delaware Water Gap at the respective periods of the cherry blossoms and the brilliant foliage. He also welcomed the opportunity for botanizing, which remained throughout his life a pleasant diversion. After 1869, as has been said,¹ he generally spent the summers at Cape May, where he had built a simple residence to which he would convey whatever books were essential to the work in hand. There his daily walks for exercise occupied his mornings, and carried him wherever wild flowers were to be found. He was familiar with the abundant flora, and knew the habitat of the multitude of plants, which he sought on dry land and in the marshes, insensible to the mosquitoes. After an ocean bath and luncheon, he was to be found at his books and manuscripts until late at night.

Much of the earlier research of Lea was conducted in this way, during the so-called vacations at Cape May, since for many years his devotion to business left him only the evenings during the winter months. His business sagacity contributed importantly to the changing policy of the firm and to its increased success. The earlier emphasis of Carey & Lea and of Lea & Blanchard had been on works of literature.² Besides Scott, they had published Dickens in America; and they had on their list such prominent American authors as Irving, Cooper, Simms, Bird, Boker, Poe, Kennedy and others. Toward the middle of the century, however, certain important changes began to take place in the practice of publishing houses, and especially in the publishing of fiction. The years of

¹ Chapter II, p. 75.

² See Chapter I, pp. 24-30 for a sketch of the early years; and see *One Hundred Years of Publishing, 1785-1885*, Philadelphia, Lea Brothers & Co., 1885.

business depression from 1837 to 1844 had greatly reduced the demand for books for the general reader except in the cheapest form; fiction, indeed, began to appear almost exclusively in paper covers. So marked was this trend that it was necessary, in the case of a large stock of Cooper's novels which had been bound for sale, to strip them of their covers and rebind them in cheap paper to sell them at all. Recognizing these conditions, Lea sought other fields. He concluded that specialization on medical and scientific works, for which the market was steady, offered a better prospect.

From an early period the house had taken advantage of its position in Philadelphia, the center of American medicine, to secure the publication of many of the most distinguished medical and scientific works printed in this country. Bell's *Anatomy*, Hutin's *Physiology*, the works of Wistar, Chapman, Coxe, Horner, Gibson, Meigs, Hodge, and many other prominent medical and scientific men were issued with its imprint. In 1820 the firm, already proprietor of one of the best literary periodicals in America, *The American Quarterly Review*, began to publish the *Philadelphia Journal of the Medical and Physical Sciences*, which soon enlarged its scope under the name of *The American Journal of the Medical Sciences*. It remains today one of the most important periodicals in English devoted to medicine and, with one exception in England, the oldest. This, together with a monthly, *The Medical News*, begun in 1843, attracted more and more medical writers to the facilities of the house.

Lea's decision to specialize in medicine and science proved wise. Through several changes in partnership¹ the

¹ See Chapter I, p. 24-30.

firm continued to prosper. William A. Blanchard remained the senior partner of Blanchard & Lea until his retirement in 1865. At that time, Henry C. Lea accepted the son of his former partner, Henry Blanchard, as his new associate, and changed the firm name again to Lea & Blanchard. He then saw ahead the attractive vista of historical research and looked forward more definitely to retirement from business. His partner, however, developed nervous trouble, to allay which Lea casually offered to buy him out or to sell his own interest to him. To Lea's surprise his offer to buy was accepted, and far from the retirement he had contemplated, he became the sole owner and director of a growing business which absorbed much of his daily energy for the next fifteen years. It was not until 1880 that he relinquished the active control to his successor firm, Henry C. Lea's Son & Co., consisting of Charles M. Lea, his second son; Christian C. Febiger, a cousin, and Henry M. Barnes, all three having had long experience in the house. Henry C. Lea continued as a special but inactive partner until 1885.

In 1865, facing alone the responsibilities of the future, Lea soon found that he preferred to be without a partner, for his decisions were, as a matter of fact, generally formed independently. The end of the war had come, and improved conditions were expected. His first act was to abandon the old quarters at 105 South Fourth Street and move his business to 706-708 Sansom Street, a building which he erected for the purpose. He began to enlarge his list of medical authors. None of the traditional hostility which is supposed to exist between writers and publishers is to be observed in the surviving record of his business relationships. He was an author as well as a

publisher, and he became noted for an even-handed justice that observed the interests of both parties to the business of supplying readers with books. He was an early opponent of the system of publishing "on commission," which was objectionable to authors because it was unfair to those who could not afford to finance their own works. This practice, then very much followed by publishers, required the author to supply at his own expense the stereotyped plates of his book, while the publishing house agreed to sell the work for him on commission. Lea's reasons for opposing this arrangement were not simply sentimental; he was in business for business reasons, and he seldom published a book which had not the prospect of a good sale. Years later, in a letter to the historian, Lecky, he speaks of his practice:¹

"As a rule, I do not think well of publishing on commission. While I was in business I always refused to undertake it, for I rated my time and facilities high, and I never would invest them where I would hesitate to invest capital. I always had more capital than I could employ, while I was limited to the working hours of a day. The author moreover will get better work out of a publisher who has his capital involved and must labor to get it out. It is in human nature that his efforts should be directed where his interests are greatest. The fairest method on both sides I think is the payment of a royalty or copymoney on sales, which in this country has settled itself at ten per cent of the retail price, equivalent to about fifteen on the wholesale price.

"There is one ineradicable trouble in the publishing business. In order to carry it on the publisher must necessarily make the good books carry the bad, and not more than twenty or twenty-five per cent of the books

¹ Correspondence, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

published are 'good' commercially. The author of a successful book is naturally discontented that a part of what he regards as his lawful gains should be diverted to make up for the losses accruing from unsuccessful books, and the authors of the latter are discontented that their works are unsuccessful. It is a speculative business throughout, and the most experienced sagacity is at fault in foretelling the result of each single book."

At the beginning of his life as a man of business, young Lea, who had already made himself known to magazine editors, was steadily tempted by them to continue his efforts as a contributor, and their letters made doubly difficult his resolve to work more moderately. It was very hard for an ambitious young writer to resist repeated invitations like those of William Gilmore Simms, Southern poet, and the editor of a succession of magazines, who wrote, on April 25, 1851:¹ "Let me repeat the wish that you contribute to the *Review*. You shall be honored with respectful care so long as the work remains under my control." Such offers, he for years refused to consider.

By 1857, as before stated, when he moved to 3903 Spruce Street, he was able again to increase the number of his interests. He had been fourteen years in business, and had mastered its routine. It was at this time that he published the articles that mark the beginnings of his historical production. He also began to be drawn somewhat reluctantly into the arena of public affairs. His residence was situated in a district which had been given new prominence by the recent "consolidation" of the city, in 1854. He saw the necessity for all capable and right-minded citizens to organize against the corrupt group

¹ Correspondence, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

which controlled the political life of the city, and although he was jealous of his leisure, he became more and more involved in political movements. His interest in passing events is reflected in the volumes of news clippings which he began to collect in 1857. Here is to be found a record of the public questions of the period: the city water supply, the agitation for the new public buildings, the bridging of the Schuylkill and the development of the West Philadelphia districts. As the war loomed in prospect, the items took on a wider national aspect: problems connected with recruiting, financing and feeding the army; the duties of Philadelphia in war work; the new income taxes; and finally the foundation and activities of the Union League, soon absorbed him. In 1860 he became a leader in the first of the many discussions of the Philadelphia water supply. He began the practice of contributing, at the request of his friends in the newspaper world, articles and editorials on such questions. On the need for an improvement of the city water supply he wrote frequently, deploring the meager facilities of the works and the maladministration that decreased their usefulness; protesting, as a citizen, that he should be given the assurance that he could "go to bed at night without the expectation that (his) kitchen range would blow up before morning." With the early agitation over the new public buildings for Philadelphia he was closely identified. This question, of course, had been many times an issue of local politics, having been mentioned as early as 1774. An act in 1847 authorized the Mayor and Councils to begin the raising of funds to erect municipal public buildings, and mentioned Independence Square as the logical site for such a structure. In 1851 a bill was introduced in the State Legis-

lature to provide for a commission to study the problem. That Lea had already given much consideration to the matter is shown in his long letter to Representative Randall, citing numerous instances of fraud and stupidity in the experience of other communities facing similar problems, and pointing out how certain dangers could be avoided in the framing of the Public Buildings Act for Philadelphia. It was not until April 2, 1860, that the Public Buildings Act appointing the Building Commission was passed. Lea's scrap-book of clippings from Philadelphia papers shows a close study of the situation during the next two years, until the outbreak of war drove the question out of the minds of politicians and private citizens alike.

Lea's point of view toward the proposed new public buildings was sound, as one sees it revealed in his published "open letters" and editorials.¹ He had very strong convictions as to what should be done, his civic pride caused him to view the matter in a serious light, and he expressed his opinions freely in several newspapers. He was opposed to erecting new buildings in any location from considerations of public economy. Although the two dollar tax rate in Philadelphia was above that of other cities, there still did not appear to be enough revenue to supply the entire community with gas, water and well-paved streets, and as he said, a "handsome municipal palace" would be but "a laced coat on the back of a beggar." This was one of his strongest reasons for opposing the growing sentiment to place the building on Penn Square, now Broad and Market Streets, where, he believed, a much too elaborate structure would be neces-

¹ See Bibliography.

sary. If a new building were imperatively needed, he felt that it would be better to follow the suggestion of the Act of 1847, and erect on Independence Square, on the Walnut Street side, opposite Independence Hall, a simple building adequate to the need. His "open letter to Mayor Alexander Henry" on June 15, 1860, shows that he was the leader of a group of citizens who prepared a petition in favor of the Independence Square location. This was subsequently signed by several hundred prominent names. In the *Public Ledger* for July 31, 1860, he published a carefully studied article with statistics showing that of the seventy leading businesses and industries carried on in Philadelphia, twice as many were situated nearer Independence Square than Penn Square. Had the question been settled at that time it is likely that Independence Square might have been chosen; but the Civil War postponed the decision until 1870. The earlier agitation for Penn Square had been fomented, as Lea showed, by a few land speculators who hoped to profit by the selection of the western site, but ten years later the westward trend of the city was apparent and Lea then expressed no objections to the Penn Square site. As to the administration of funds by the Building Commission, and the scandals that disgraced the city at this later time, he was righteously expressive, as we shall see.¹

Even now, he clearly foresaw the dangers that lay ahead, and attempted to defeat the politicians who were contemplating the misuse of public funds. The Act of 1860 providing for a Building Commission had given the Mayor power to authorize loans for building purposes, but had provided a check upon the expenditure of public money

¹ Chapter V, pp. 176-191.

by requiring the ratification of such loans by the City Councils. Early in 1861, however, a group of interested politicians quietly secured the passage in the State Senate of an amendment removing the requirement of ratification by Councils. The Building Commission was already under fire for its laxness in preparing preliminary plans, and its failure to make for the proposed building such accurate specifications as would protect the public against bad work and inferior materials. There was increasing evidence of political chicanery in the letting of contracts, and several suits had been lodged against the Commission by contractors who seemed able to prove that they had been unfairly dealt with in the matter of bids. One of these claims Lea had thoroughly investigated, making the surprising discovery that a contract had been let for a sum of \$200,000 more than the estimate of the lowest bidder, who had been told that it was impossible to perform the work for the sum which he named, although he had an excellent reputation, and his work had never been questioned. Under the circumstances, the proposed amendment of the Building Act would obviously increase the opportunity for dishonesty, by leaving the Commission free from any public check on expenditures.

On March 13, 1861, a mass meeting of protest was organized by the so-called "People's Party." Lea addressed the gathering and was appointed secretary, with instructions to make any possible effective protest. With George M. Wharton he prepared a memorial to the Legislature which was largely the work of his pen, and it was his energy that secured the great number of signatures to the document. At the suggestion of Senator George Connell, Lea headed a delegation of prominent citizens

who went personally to Harrisburg to lend more weight to the presentation of the protest. At his hotel in Harrisburg he was awakened three times in the night between two days of discussion. Each time a sum was named which would defeat the bill, the amount being smaller and smaller. He refused to bribe, and the amended bill passed the Senate. The slender correspondence that has survived¹ shows how faithfully for several months Lea attempted through Senator Connell and Representative Randall, to bring about the reconsideration of the Act or its subsequent failure in the House, but without avail. As has been said, the war and the later hard years of reconstruction postponed the problem. The cornerstone of the new City Hall was ultimately laid on July 4, 1874.

The war obscured all such purely local issues in 1861. Lea was deeply moved by the attack upon the Union; he was sympathetic with the North and its industrial life; and he viewed with deep abhorrence the system of Southern slavery, and knew that it must by some means be destroyed. At the outbreak of hostilities he at once equipped and arranged for the support of two substitutes, feeling that he could render more efficient assistance in other ways. He threw himself vigorously into the work of local organization and became one of the leaders of military activities for the North in Philadelphia. The responsibilities of patriotic service gradually absorbed him, until in 1863 he was devoting most of his time to war work. Throughout the conflict he gave the closest attention to every leading event, as is indicated by the five large volumes of his clippings from newspapers between 1861 and 1865. At first the possibilities of service were appar-

¹ Correspondence, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

ently limited. When in 1861 a call went out from Washington for the enrolment of Home Guard regiments for emergencies, Lea undertook the organization of a committee in his own ward, and concentrated his attention on the formation of a Home Guard company there. He also began to publish in periodicals and in the local papers a series of poems on patriotic subjects. The last of these appeared in August, 1862. Much more absorbing services soon presented themselves to his willing hand.

Many of these developed through his membership in the Union League, which he soon joined. This organization formed the focus of much of his subsequent patriotic work as well as that of so many other loyal men. The League was an outgrowth of the "Union Club," which had been founded in November, 1862, by a small group under the leadership of Judge J. I. Clark Hare and George Henry Boker, the dramatist, in order to counteract the social influence of the strong Copperhead sentiment in Philadelphia. On December 27, 1862, the "Union Club" enlarged its scope, and became "The Union League of Philadelphia," the first organization of its kind in America. Its influence became powerful. Five weeks after its founding, Lea became a member. He at once took his natural place on the Board of Publication, which had as its purpose the circulation of pamphlets and broadsides written to instruct the public and to inspire loyal opinion. Before the close of the war Lea wrote twelve of the most widely circulated publications of the committee. In many others he had a hand; besides, he was the member most responsible for the general policy of publication. Of his many other activities in the League, the most important was his membership on the Military Committee of three, in charge

of the enlistment and equipment of several regiments that the organization placed in the field. He also gave much of his time to the work of the Supervisory Committee on Colored Enlistments, of which he was a member. In spite of the doubt and prejudice of many, now difficult to understand, this committee succeeded in the task of recruiting and equipping in Philadelphia several regiments of colored troops which proved a valuable addition to the Federal army. Many of them were Northern negroes already free; but many more were refugee slaves from the South whom the committee sheltered, drilled, officered and subsequently permitted to share in the winning of their own freedom.

Lea's Union League pamphlets are notable for their immediate and powerful appeal to the average reader, the "man on the street," at whom they were generally levelled. Convincing and direct in their argument, clear and forceful in expression, keen in humor and satire, they reflect in many ways his own personality. Most of them were unsigned, and their authorship was apparently unknown even to the compilers of the official history of the Union League,¹ but Lea's own private collection of signed copies and manuscripts clearly indicates their source. The first of them, *A Bible View of Polygamy*, affords us an example of at least one anti-slavery tract which was amusing. In 1861, John Henry Hopkins, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Vermont, a Democrat, had written his *Bible View of Slavery* to show by voluminous Biblical references that slavery was authorized both by scriptural principle and practice. This naïve document had been so successfully used as campaign propaganda in a Vermont election that in

¹ *Chronicle of the Union League of Philadelphia*, Philadelphia, 1902.

1863 the Pennsylvania Democrats, making a desperate effort to win the gubernatorial election, had it widely circulated throughout the State. To the confusion of those who argued that if anything was in the Bible it must be good, Lea wrote his short burlesque of Hopkins, using the same methods of quotation to show how many worthy men in Bible history had practised polygamy and approved it. *A Bible View of Polygamy* is almost entirely in the trenchant vein of that sentence in the Preface which hopes that the good Bishop may soon see the dawning of that glad day when "every citizen may have as many slaves as Abraham and as many wives as Solomon!" The success of the tract was immediate, and it played its part in the defeat of the Pennsylvania Democrats. There was an interesting sequel. Bishop Hopkins, smarting under a rebuke from the clergy of the Episcopal Diocese of Pennsylvania for his interference in local politics, at once wrote *A Scriptural, Ecclesiastical and Historical View of Slavery from Abraham to the Nineteenth Century*, a book as dull and long as its title. Lea flayed it in the *North American Review* of October, 1864. He was provoked by its wordy incapacity to a severity such as he seldom employed in his reviews. After pointing out its ignorance of history and its misinterpretation of Scripture, he concluded:

"We are giving too much space to a book whose only claim to notice is the dignity of its author. Too shallow to possess value as an historical essay, too verbose and dull for a political pamphlet, it must speedily sink into the limbo of the forgotten, curious only to the inquirer into the aberrations of the human intellect."

The other war pamphlets of Lea were free from personalities, but were effectively devoted to combating the strong

Democratic sympathies operating in Pennsylvania. In June, 1863, *A Few Words for Honest Pennsylvania Democrats*, a sixteen page pamphlet, urged all loyal men to forsake the Democratic Party, giving convincing proofs of the general and avowed Southern sympathies of Northern Democratic leaders. In the same month Lea's *Democratic Opinions on Slavery* gave a list of quotations from Democratic leaders of the day, showing their slavery bias, compared with an effective list of opposing views from such early patriots as Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, Jay, Patrick Henry and others. In 1864 three pamphlets dealt in various ways with what he regarded as the menace of McClellan's proposed candidacy for President. That *To the Soldiers of the Union* revealed to them the dangers inherent in their proposed support of their former chieftain, who, as Lea believed, had proved himself the gullible tool of the Democrats in pledging himself to call an armistice if elected. This proposed leniency, as Lea further showed in the leaflet, *A Democratic Peace*, would give the South a chance to recuperate, without altering its determination only to return to the Union without compromise. *The Democratic Times*, written in September, after the nomination of McClellan at the Chicago convention, was a burlesque on topics selected to show that the disloyal Northern Democrats were actually repeating, although perhaps in different words, the sentiments of Southern rebels. A list of parodied quotations from Democratic leaders represents them as hurling veiled threats at the Government, while McClellan acquiesces, "Anything you like, Gentlemen,—only make me President."

Still more considerable was *The First Duty of the Citizen*

(August, 1863) in which the author states for the first time concretely those opinions which later caused him to enter so devotedly into the work of the reform groups which were organized after the war to fight the evils of "machine" politics in Pennsylvania. The gist of this well-constructed paper is that American free institutions, to succeed, must be kept truly representative; and that the domination of selfish leadership in communities could be easily shattered in the smallest unit, the precinct, where "four or five reputable, disinterested citizens . . . could control for all purposes of good the movements of their party therein."

An admirable and sincere article is the tribute to Lincoln in 1864, summing up the achievements of his first term and showing the need to re-elect him. As this essay shows, Lea had come to admire deeply the great Emancipator, with whom he had had some personal dealings. In a letter to Charles Eliot Norton,¹ soon after Lincoln's death, Lea summed up his impression of the great man in a passage remarkable for its understanding of Lincoln, and for the dignity and beauty of its expression:

"History presents many grander figures than that of Abraham Lincoln, but none who will preserve so firm a hold upon the affections of a people. His very weaknesses sprung from the traits which serve to attach a people to its ruler, while his uprightness and homely sagacity neutralized them in action. Had he been loftier he would have been less appreciated—and possibly less successful in his administration. It is singular that in our brief career we should have furnished to the world, in Washington and Lincoln, two perfect exemplars—one of the aristocratic and the other of democratic republicanism. His tragic

¹ Correspondence, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

end was all that was wanting to put the seal upon the tender remembrance with which he will be enshrined in our annals. I had three or four interviews with him last year and was much impressed with the kindly forbearance with which he strove to discharge the complicated duties of his office, and I believe that those loved him best who were brought most in contact with him. Peace be with him, for he has deserved well of his country and of mankind."

In the midst of these many duties, writing tracts, recruiting troops, finding chaplains and guns for companies of colored and white soldiers, and the like, Lea found time as well to become the organizer of a movement to found a Union League branch in West Philadelphia. An old residence at Thirty-eighth and Market Streets was dedicated to the uses of the League in a resolution read by Lea as chairman of the meeting. He also devoted much time to the committee in charge of the Great Central Fair, quaintly called the "Sanitary Fair" because it was held under the auspices of the United States Sanitary Commission, to raise money to purchase supplies for under-equipped soldiers in the field. Various cities had raised funds in this way; after some delay Philadelphia's Fair took place in temporary structures erected in Logan Square in June, 1864.

During the entire period of the war, Lea also devoted his time to the important work of the "Association for the Relief of Refugees from the Rebel Armies." This local organization, of which he was chairman, had been inaugurated by a small group of Philadelphia gentlemen at the suggestion of Provost Marshal General M. R. Patrick. It was obviously important to encourage southerners who were not in sympathy with the southern

cause to come into northern territory, thus weakening the resources of the South, and increasing the supply of northern labor. It was no inconsiderable task to provide temporary quarters for such fugitives and for the many deserters from the Rebel armies, to supply transportation for them to points where their labor might be valuable, and ultimately to find them homes. With the help of Joseph G. Rosengarten, secretary of the organization, Lea arranged, through Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War, for the necessary transportation. A canteen was opened in Philadelphia and coöperation established with the "American Union Commission," which was conducting the work in several cities, but had no branch in Philadelphia. Lea provided thousands of circulars to be distributed among the southern soldiers informing them of this work; ten thousand were sent at one critical moment during the war, through the picket lines of Lee's army.

Still more important was Lea's activity as a member of the Bounty Fund Commission. The Enrolment Act of 1863 assigned quotas to each state and district for the enlistment of men, and gave the Government the right to draft a sufficient number from each locality to supply any deficiency in enlistment. No record had been kept in Philadelphia previously of the number of citizens already enlisted, or their names, and when the credits from earlier enlistments were published, Philadelphia was allowed a number obviously far below the actual figure. Most Philadelphians felt that the city would be disgraced if it became necessary to draft her quota of men, yet that misfortune seemed likely to occur, since many of her citizens were being led to enlist in other communities, where they received a "bounty." At last it became clear

that Philadelphia would have to adopt a similar plan. Councils voted to pay a bounty of \$250 for each enlistment, and on December 14, 1863, Mayor Alexander Henry appointed a Bounty Fund Commission of five members, of whom Lea,¹ by his intense interest and superior activity, soon made himself leader and spokesman.

The special work of the Bounty Commission, however, was not to raise recruits, but to see that the city received credit for all the bounties that it paid, which called for accurate knowledge of the regulations for mustering in and crediting, and brought Lea into close and constant relations with the office of the Provost Marshal General in Washington. He conducted personally all the relations between that office and the City of Philadelphia, and he always gladly bore testimony to the uprightness and fidelity to duty of the most abused official of the war, Colonel James B. Fry, the Provost Marshal General, who was charged with the difficult duty of levying the tax in men on all the Union States. The complexity of accounts was great, errors were unavoidable, complaints and recriminations incessant. Lea had frequent collisions with Fry, but was always sure of his ground, and established every claim he made. As previously stated, in the unthinking patriotism of the first two years of the war, men were enlisted and regiments organized and sent off without a thought of keeping a record to show how many the city had furnished, nor was any care taken to see that recruits were properly entered to their home cities in the muster rolls. Massachusetts filled one of her boasted negro regiments in the vicinity of Philadelphia. When conscription

¹ Documents showing his important connection with this work are in the Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

came with the Enrolment Act it was necessary for the Provost Marshal General's office to consolidate all former calls with the new one, ascertain what States and Congressional Districts were behind, and assess the quotas accordingly. The quota assigned to Philadelphia was greatly larger than had been expected. Lea and E. Spencer Miller, chairman of Councils' Committee on Defence and Protection, went to Washington to ascertain the cause and system, and the remedy. On returning home they procured copies of the muster rolls of all Philadelphia regiments since the beginning of the war, and laid these before Secretary of War Stanton, who promised to "saturate" himself with them. A few days later he telegraphed Lea that he had handed the matter over to President Lincoln, with whom an appointment was made, and who, after two interviews, gave the necessary order for the credit to be made to Philadelphia. Lea never forgot the kindly humanity of the smile which continually played around the rugged features of Lincoln.

When the Enrolment Act was passed it also became evident that communities which had furnished seamen and marines for the navy were entitled to credit for them on an equality with volunteers for the army, and provision was made for these "naval credits" from the beginning of the war. For these there were no regimental muster rolls, and the only records were the registers of the individuals sworn in at the rendezvous of the several navy yards. Lea drew up a blank for entry of all details for each man. These were furnished to all the war committees who, with the police, made a thorough canvass of all citizens in the naval service, verifying their work by comparison with the registers at the naval rendezvous.

At a cost of about \$500 this resulted in an additional credit to the city of about 5500 men to which it was justly entitled.

Furthermore, on examining the records of the Provost Marshal General's office he discovered that Philadelphia's columns of credits had been wrongly added, with a loss of 5000 men. For these he succeeded in obtaining proper credit. The poor arithmetic of the Government clerks Lea kept a secret, and was amused within a week to read that the newspapers were lauding the energy of Governor Curtin in securing an additional credit of 5000 volunteers, although Lea knew that he alone had obtained it. A newspaper account later estimated that as a result of his work he had secured the city a credit of 20,000 men, and had prevented unjust drafts and an expenditure of \$8,000,000.

It was a satisfaction to Lea to know that President Lincoln recognized the care and honesty with which this matter had been managed in Philadelphia. He was also gratified to receive a letter from Colonel Fry after the war stating that he had intended in his final report to instance Philadelphia as the model of all cities in filling its quotas, but that he had omitted this tribute in order not to excite jealousies.

The promise of \$250 bounty did not stimulate enlistments as much as had been hoped, and Lea undertook in his own West Philadelphia district to raise a sum of money to increase the bounty to \$300. This plan proved so successful that other districts soon followed the example, and Philadelphia filled all of her quotas during the war with one minor exception, when a small draft of 40 men was made in one of the wards. This was an admirable

record for a large city and was due to Lea's initiative. Still the danger of errors at Washington remained constant, and Lea found it necessary to keep steadily in touch with the office of Provost Marshal General Fry. As has been said, Lea's justness and integrity seemed to Fry so sharply in contrast with that of the local leaders in many communities, frequently petty politicians, that he often expressed his gratitude. After the war he wrote Lea, "I feel that I, as well as the city of Philadelphia, owe you a debt of gratitude for the manner in which you conducted the recruiting business of that city. I hope your fellow-citizens may always remain as sensible of this obligation as I do."

The bounty system was, of course, extremely unsatisfactory, lacking the effectiveness of a rigid draft and the selective virtues of a system of unpaid voluntary enlistment which would appeal to men honestly devoted to the cause for which they fought. It gave enormous opportunities for abuse to the worst elements of the public, and almost every possible evil was its natural outcome. Thousands of men accepted bounties only to desert at the first chance; many of them re-enlisted several times for the sake of the money. So many thus cheated the Government that their punishment became impracticable, and Lea was sickened at the spectacle of such general abuse. On December 21, 1864, he sent his friend, Charles Eliot Norton, of Harvard College, a plan which he had evolved to remedy the condition, together with a letter¹ containing an interesting explanation of the state of affairs:

"A captain of the regular army mentioned to me a few days ago the case of an officer of a Massachusetts regiment

¹ Correspondence, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

stationed at Atlanta who recently left your state with 113 recruits. He reached Stephenson with 112, and between that place and Chattanooga he lost 100 by desertion, arriving at the latter place with 12 men. A few days since I saw an account of a squad of recruits from Maine whom the officer in charge examined finding 60 with civilian suits under their uniforms, ready to 'jump' at the first opportunity; and another statement of 500 cavalry recruits from New England, one-half of whom escaped on the road and half of the remainder from Camp Stoneman before being mounted.

"Paragraphs like these strike the eye daily in the newspapers, and are treated as good jokes—and then good people wonder why a call for 300,000 men is followed by one for 500,000; and then another for 300,000 more treads on the heels of the last. Besides 'emergency' and 'three months men,' we have filled calls for 2,100,000 men since the war began, and now we are asked for 300,000 more, with the rebellion still unsubdued and defiant. Had each locality honestly given the efficient men for which it can show credits on paper, we could long ere this have exterminated every armed rebel in the South."

It was the prevalence of conditions such as he describes in this letter that caused Lea, out of his experience in Philadelphia with the bounty system, to advocate the drafting of an army in the *Memorial*, dated December 5, 1864, which he sent to Congress on its convening in January. It was written by Lea, endorsed by the Philadelphia Committee on Enlistments, the Bounty Commission and the Mayor of Philadelphia. The Draft Act, passed just at the end of the war, was a recognition of the justice of Lea's criticism.

For three years Lea's life was without interruption devoted to such matters. He had no time for vacations,

and was too busy to be ill. Indeed, his health apparently improved under the strain and excitement. An excellent picture of the war days is afforded in a group of letters written to his wife between July 1 and July 15, 1863. His family were in New England, where he had sent them to be out of danger, planning to join them on July 1 for a brief rest; but the growing menace of battle kept him in Philadelphia. He wrote every other day to his wife to give first-hand accounts of the stirring events that were occurring. Since these letters indicate characteristically the life Lea was leading during these years, and since they particularly relate to the conditions in Philadelphia during the Battle of Gettysburg, a series of progressive extracts from them is given below:

PHILA., July 1, 1863.

"I have had a busy day, my last exploit being to march with some 150 other gentlemen of the League to reassure Gen'l Dana by showing our readiness to gobble up a few thousand Rebs; and thence down Chestnut Street to give the unwashed the benefit of our example. I was highly tickled by overhearing an earnest inquiry from a little shoe-black to his companion opposite the State House: 'I say, Jim, are those men going to get their bounty?' At Fourth Street I slipped out of the ranks and let myself into the store. Now I must hurry off for a private interview with Gov. Curtin, to which I was this morning invited with much mystery, I suppose with half a hundred other confidential men. Tomorrow I have a committee to meet at 8 o'clock, another at 9:30, ditto at 12, ditto at 8 P.M. So you see I am likely to be well occupied, but do not feel anxious about me, for my headache has gone off, and though tired I feel fine, as though I could move a mountain . . . Things seem to look somewhat better. Pleasanton has 14,000 effective

cavalry cutting up Lee's rear. Stabel turned over 5000 men to him and is going to Harrisburg."

PHILA., July 3, 1863.

"Yesterday was a very anxious time with us. On Wednesday evening, Gov. Curtin put us *au courant* with the position of affairs, and in a manner to make us feel very grave doubts as to the future . . . Today we breathe rather easier. The first day's fight at Gettysburg seems to have been at least a drawn battle, and if Meade was not overwhelmed at once, he can no doubt make a good fight. If he is worsted my calculation is that Lee's army will be too much crippled to follow up his advantage rapidly, especially with Pleasanton's splendid cavalry hanging round him, so that we shall at all events have time to prepare for the worst. We are on tenterhooks as you may suppose, knowing nothing as yet about the results of yesterday, except that the firing was resumed this morning. Perhaps tomorrow will reveal our fate. I am told that Meade's family here have encouraging dispatches from him. Everything here is bustle and preparation, but little is as yet accomplished. There are more men recruited than enough to make up the quota of seven or eight regiments required of the city, but then there are twenty-seven regiments recruiting, and only two of them made up; the rest are disputing with each other for men and holding on to all they have, so that precious time is wasted for the benefit of a lot of would-be field officers. Besides this, the bounty system has been run into the ground, and all that we have done in raising money is far worse than useless. I shall not be caught in such a business again . . . I am pushing around as usual. Left my store at half-past nine this morning and returned to it after three, having attended meanwhile, to four committees, and had my dinner at the League House. It is now after six o'clock. I have one or two newspaper squibs to write. A meeting at nine o'clock will finish the

day. Though tomorrow is the Fourth, I have two meetings to attend in the morning, and may have others; so you see I have not much time to think, a great blessing these times. Do not feel anxious about me for I feel as though all this did me good. My head is tolerably clear; the excitement seems to have driven off the rheumatism.

"Our negro recruiting is getting along finely. We have already \$20,000 subscribed, and by tomorrow will have four companies mustered in. Major Stearns is as complimentary as a quiet, reserved man can well be; he says that he has never known so much progress made in so short a time, and praises our committee for its rapid dispatch of business, quite unexampled in his experience. The effervescence has about worked itself off. The talkers have had their talk, and the earnest business men of the organization have acquired tolerably good control of the matter. The labor has been great, but I honestly believe that in no other way could I have bestowed it to so much purpose. What do you think of Ben Brewster taking Fred Douglass to the League House, inviting him to his own house, and after a talk of an hour, publicly declaring that Douglass was his equal in every respect?"

JULY 5, 1863.

"Clarke and McMichael have just roused me out of a nap which I was carefully cherishing, with the news that the battle of Gettysburg ended yesterday in the total defeat of the rebels. God grant that it may be true, but we have gone up like rockets and come down like sticks so often that I instinctively refuse to be elevated. At all events I presume that the result has been such as to deliver us from all present danger, even if we have not succeeded at last in the oft-repeated exploit of breaking the backbone of the rebellion. If the glowing newspaper

¹ Benjamin H. Brewster was a prominent Philadelphian who had before the declaration of war been in favor of slavery and a strong local agitator for the upholding of the Fugitive Slave Laws. Douglass was a popular negro leader, a former slave.

accounts be true, it is hard to estimate the results which will flow from such success rightly improved. . . . Yesterday afternoon an acquaintance drove me out to the negro camp at Cheltenham Hills, a neighborhood which I was glad to see again. It would have done you good to see the camp. Imagine several hundred negroes in the highest possible spirits, giving themselves up to the enjoyment with the most perfect abandon, and with all the easy good humor of their race . . . We had provided them a modest celebration of the day, and after a review and speeches from Fred Douglass and Kelley (which I grieve to say received little attention from the sable auditors) they were treated to ice-cream and gingerbread, which they discussed with infinite gusto, squatted in a dense mass of animated good-humor. I am perfectly well, able to work, and happy in feeling that I can be of some use."

PHILA., JULY 10, 1863.

"Another battle is imminent, and you may very possibly have news of it before this reaches you. Meade has been powerfully reinforced, as far as I can learn, while Lee cannot have received accessions except from gathering up outlying bodies of his men; still the fate of a battle is always doubtful, and I look forward to the result with an anxiety which I do not seek to disguise. It is a curious fact that at Gettysburg most of our men thought that they were fighting under McClellan, some supposing that he was Hooker's direct successor, others that Meade was acting under his orders. This explains the spirit and tenacity of our line, but the men now have full confidence in Meade, and will fight under him as well probably as under anyone. Altogether I am as well as I have been or expect to be for years, and if Lee's army only gets well mashed, I shall be better."

PHILA., JULY 12, 1863.

"This morning I made a tour of inspection of the fortifications going up in our neighborhood and find that

when it becomes necessary to blow Hamilton Village to Jehanum they will be admirably adapted to accomplish it. Our house unluckily is masked by those of our neighbors, but when the latter are smashed we shall be able to enjoy the full benefit of shell and round shot, and we are within range of grape and canister. So you see we have every advantage, which is only fair, since I have done all in my power for two years past to have Philadelphia defended. The result of my reflections this afternoon I have been embodying in an article which I hope to get in the *Inquirer*; it contains some new views on the subject of municipal defence, which for the benefit of posterity ought not to be smothered. Besides this I have been editing and putting into shape a pamphlet containing some rank abolition speeches of black and white men and women, *i. e.*, Kelley, Fred Douglass and Miss Dickinson, delivered at a colored meeting held here last week. I was put on the publishing committee."

PHILA., JULY 13, 1863.

"The news last night looked as though there would be no battle in Maryland after all, and though I could not help anticipating another struggle with something akin to dread, I shall feel no little disappointment if Lee gets off without another trouncing. Did I tell you that this day two weeks ago General Meade was waked up at three o'clock in the morning by a messenger. His first thought was 'What have I been doing?' for he imagined himself about to be put under arrest. The courier brought him a dispatch appointing him to command of the army, and on Wednesday, three days after, the Battle of Gettysburg began. So little was he prepared for the position that on the Thursday previous he chanced to say in a letter to his wife that he did not know the position of any corps in the army but his own. How frightfully reckless to thrust a man in command under such circumstances, on the eve of the most important engagement of the war!

Luckily, he seems to have been equal to the occasion, but such management does not deserve success. These particulars may be relied on, for my father had them from Major Bache, Meade's brother-in-law."

PHILA., July 15, 1863.

"If by staying I could have seen Lee's army mashed to pieces there would have been some comfort in it, but as he has given us the slip, we must make up our minds to it. I do not feel much disappointment, for I had anticipated some such result. It is not easy to bag 50,000 veteran soldiers led by an able General, and if McClellan was forced to let Lee cross after Antietam, if Lee had to allow Burnside to escape after Fredericksburg and Hooker after Chancellorsville, we must not accuse Meade of incapacity or lukewarmness. We shall finish our military education after a while and learn to look upon these things philosophically. Meanwhile, we have sufficient other successes to console us, and to show that our blows are at last telling fast on the rebellion. Port Hudson and Charleston, Joe Johnson's defeat and Bragg's evacuation of Chattanooga came upon us with an avalanche of good news yesterday afternoon, and gilded the pill of Lee's escape.

"The black spot is now New York, and black enough it is in all conscience. The door has been opened to anarchy and it must be sternly closed and sealed with blood. I felt very anxious yesterday about Philadelphia, but from all I can learn there is not much danger of our rivaling the metropolis. Drafting has been going on here today quietly enough; the authorities are convinced that they have forces ample for any emergency and are prepared to use them promptly and efficiently. The Third Union League Regiment was marched out yesterday to W. Philadelphia and was about taking the cars when Couch telegraphed to Col. Whipple about 5 P.M. that Lee had crossed the Potomac, and no more troops were needed. Lee's escape released me, and I am only held by the

N. Y. trouble and the possibility of outbreaks here. The latter I now think unlikely and I have therefore concluded to start on Friday morning, by which time New York will probably have settled down."

Month after month Lea's absorption in the war became even more complete, and there was no rest until the Bounty Commission was released, in January, 1865, as a result of the new draft law that was designed to make the bounty system unnecessary. Even then there was but a slight reduction of activity. The nominal end of the war at Appomattox, and the assassin's bullet that only five days later translated Lincoln from a man to a memory in the American mind, and gave him to the ages, only served to inaugurate the chaotic period of reconstruction in which it seemed to many patriots that the integrity of the country was more seriously endangered than it had previously been by rebellion. It would be fruitless to consider here the many sides of the questions which formed the complex fabric of American life during reconstruction. It must be stated, however, that Lea became one of the most active and one of the best known of the small group of political thinkers in the East who attempted to keep their heads and meet the problems thoughtfully as they arose. Lea found himself sharply at variance with Johnson's policies, and frequently suspicious of his motives. In retrospect, one sees that Johnson was not strong enough to continue the work begun by the colossal Lincoln, and that in his incapacity, he suffered by comparison. The problems that he faced were in some ways as difficult as those of his great predecessor, and he had not the force to command the efforts of honest men in the struggle against the dishonest elements that confronted him on all sides.

To begin with, Lea was strongly apprehensive of Johnson's apparent sympathy with the Democratic Party, which he had long believed was openly sympathetic with the South and secretly subverting national interests. He had several times arraigned the Democrats in his pamphlets, and the memory of McClellan's canvass in 1864, in which he failed to carry Pennsylvania by only 5 per cent of the popular vote, was strong and bitter in his mind. The many Republicans who felt as he did had been bending every effort to secure a large majority in Congress during the elections of 1866. When Johnson apparently opposed them and lost the support of his Cabinet, the issue became an open one. In the vigorous campaign waged by the Union League in the Pennsylvania election, Lea became one of the most active workers. One of his pamphlets, *The Record of the Democratic Party, 1860-65*, was widely circulated and became an influential campaign document. It was a well-studied criticism of forty pages demonstrating the frequent obstructionism, pacificism and disloyalty of Democratic leaders and their secret assistance to the Southern cause.

His letters to Charles Eliot Norton¹ at this time contain statements of his position on many questions, and of his public work in support of his principles. He opposed Johnson's plan to grant immediate and universal suffrage to the freedman, believing the President's motive to be one of political expediency only, and foreseeing very clearly the tragic results of such a mistake. On September 4, 1865, he wrote Norton: "I am no admirer of universal suffrage, and would wish to see extended over the whole country the system which I believe obtains in Massa-

¹ Correspondence, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

chusetts—an educational qualification, irrespective of race or color. Especially would I desire to see this in the South, as a means of protecting the freedman from adverse legislation and of offering him an additional stimulus for improvement.” He later added, “I desired also to ascertain what position the Union Party of Pennsylvania was prepared to take on the subject. I therefore prepared a resolution . . . and caused it to be brought before the platform committee of the State convention of the party.” The practical politicians who were already looking upon the disordered South as a rich field for exploitation, even at the price of the carpet-bagger, were opposed of course to any such scientific treatment of the subject, and Lea describes in his letter the manner in which Thaddeus Stevens prevented the serious consideration of his resolution.

His strong feeling in this matter stimulated his work on the Union League Publications Committee to defeat Johnson’s policies locally at the senatorial elections of 1866. On June 20, he was sending Norton copies of what he described as a “little pamphlet which I have hastily thrown together,” of which it was proposed to distribute 100,000 in Pennsylvania; in August he sent Norton a set of political pamphlets against Johnson, with the explanation that they were samples of the 650,000 pamphlets which he had sent out in three months. Yet the political situation was far from satisfactory to him, for although he felt that the anti-Democratic sentiment was now sufficiently strong, he said, “Unfortunately, there is not a single prominent candidate who is worthy the position . . . Simon Cameron has the best chance, from his great political influence and his skill as an intriguer, and

you know as well as I do how little he is to be trusted in anything. This is with us an era of small men, and our political machinery is such as to afford little prospect of an improvement." So prominently did he become associated with the political activities of these years that when Edward Everett Hale wished to find coöperation in Philadelphia for his plan to render financial aid to the loyal newspapers in the South, which were having much trouble, he communicated with Lea¹ as the most suitable person, and asked him to go South to investigate. Lea was not able to spare the time from his combined activities as publisher and political reformer.

One of the strongest of Lea's reasons for opposing Johnson was the President's abuse of the so-called "spoils system." Since Lea was to become in later times one of the leaders in the movement for the reform of the civil service, it is interesting to find his views on the matter expressed as early as 1866. On July 27 he wrote Norton,² "The President is carrying out his program of reconstruction by reconstructing the federal offices here, and filling them with broken-down and disreputable politicians or with persistent copperheads." On May 28, 1866, he had made a more constructive utterance on this situation in his letter to Representative William D. Kelley, in which he said:

"When office was first made the reward of partisanship by General Jackson he inflicted a blow upon our institutions which has been the prolific source of innumerable evils, and if our scheme of self-government should eventually prove a failure, that failure may be attributed to

¹ Correspondence, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

² *Ibid.*

it with as much propriety as to any other single cause. . . . All the great parties have by turn suffered themselves to be seduced by the power which it afforded of rewarding friends and punishing enemies . . . until the evil has become flagrant."

Lea suggested that a beginning could be made to remedy the situation by an amendment to the Civil Service Act, stating quite simply that "Persons holding positions in the Internal Revenue Service . . . shall continue in office during good behavior. Removal of such persons from office shall only be made by the Senate of the United States on charges preferred in writing by the Secretary of the Treasury . . . based upon proofs" Kelley did not propose the amendment in Congress, but the incident shows how early Lea had become interested in the correction of what was certainly for many years one of the most persistent of American political evils.

Until after the election of Grant, Lea continued the battle against the Northern Democrats. *The Crisis*, a pamphlet, was an appeal to the people of Pennsylvania and Philadelphia to avoid the possibility in the approaching local elections of 1865 of a Democratic victory, which would encourage Johnson's policy. When the Democrats won locally in spite of the work of the Union League, he published his pamphlet *Democratic Frauds*, describing the gang methods, violence and election frauds practised by the winning party. Like all others of his opinion, he redoubled his labors on behalf of the candidacy of Grant. In 1868, *The New Rebellion* undertook to show the unfitness for office of Governor Seymour and F. P. Blair, Democratic candidates for President and Vice-President, and to describe the "new rebellion" which he believed the truck-

ling of Johnson had developed in the South. In August he wrote the *Address* published by the Union League in favor of the election of Grant. The document, at the instance of George William Curtis, was republished in New York, as election propaganda for the Union League of that city. Even then Lea had seen enough of practical politics to make him despondent as to the future policies of any candidate. Writing to Norton in this vein on February 26, 1868,¹ he made a characteristic statement of his feelings:

"I suppose that the destinies of nations have always been more or less dependent upon small personal ambitions and rivalries, and yet they are none the less disgusting when one is brought face to face with them. If I were not a firm believer in the gradual progress of humanity, I would sometimes lose all confidence in the capacity of man for self-government. Yet in the long run the basest motives may prove to be part of the machinery by which great ends are accomplished, as I had ample opportunity of ascertaining during my recruiting experiences in 1863 and 1864. I therefore make it a principle not to despair of the republic, though I sometimes am at a loss to divine the exit to our complications."

With the election of Grant, we reach what may be regarded as the end of Lea's first period of participation in public affairs. He had not sought this field of activity, but had been drawn into it by the needs of his country and his devotion to her welfare. From time to time throughout the remainder of his long life, he was again for the same reasons involved in public and political questions. In every instance he avoided publicity, and whenever possible caused his participation to remain

¹ Correspondence, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

anonymous. His interest was engaged, if at all, by the cause itself, by his high sense of human justice, never by any personal consideration. He never sought public office, in fact, he several times avoided it; and he never held an office, except that of Bounty Commissioner during the war, as has been related. Yet in spite of his reticence, he was to become known as one of the most influential and devoted of the small group who bent their energies to the reform of political abuses; and to him, as much as to any one individual, his city was to be indebted subsequently for the battles against those corrupt forces which ruled Philadelphia for so many years through the evil power of the "Gas Ring."¹ All of this, however, must be separately considered elsewhere.

It has been said that the outbreak of the Civil War apparently caused the postponement of important historical work for which Lea had been collecting materials for several years. The reviews which have been mentioned as published in 1857 and 1858 showed that certain of his researches had reached an advanced stage, but they had to be abandoned during the crowded months and years that followed the firing on Fort Sumter. Immediately after the close of hostilities in 1865, the historian apparently took up again his old studies; for in 1866 he published his first book, in 1867 another, and the third in 1869. These constitute the fruit of his first period of historical research, which we may now follow in more detail.

¹ See Chapter V.

CHAPTER IV

THE EARLIER HISTORICAL WORK

It has been said that at the end of the war, Lea turned at once to the pursuit of those historical studies which had been interrupted by the conflict, with its responsibilities. He was naturally not able at once to free himself from the many routine duties in which the war had involved him. The days of reconstruction, as has been shown, brought new demands and dangers of their own, to which his patriotism responded. The Civil War had left in its wake a legacy of troubles. Some of these were of such a nature that only the care of devoted private citizens could allay them. It was generally unheroic work, unnoticed by the world at large, but involving the expenditure of much time and energy on the part of the individuals who undertook to accomplish it. Many such needs developed through the Union League, and Lea bore his share of them. He was a man for whom no task was too small to be performed well if he felt the responsibility to undertake it, and many were the hours he spent in apparent trivialities of which some one had to take charge. An example of this is to be found in his organization of one branch of the veterans' relief work of the Union League. The task of supplying Pennsylvania veterans with artificial legs was thrust on him by a succession of circumstances; a large file of letters¹ in his own careful hand indicates with what patient thoroughness, over many

¹ Correspondence, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

months, he conducted this business. As Philadelphia Bounty Commissioner, and as chairman of the Union League Committee on Enlistments, he became known to the soldiers, who frequently appealed to him personally for help when the official relief agencies of the Government proved too slow or inadequate. The appeals for artificial legs became so frequent that Lea organized, at the close of the war, a Union League fund to relieve in some measure the distress of the disabled men. The correspondence, which grew to very great proportions, affords an unusual and pathetic picture of the effects of war. Some of the letters, though sad, are amusing too, like the following:

"I have lost my right leg at the battle of Spottsylvania Court House. My object in addressing you, respected Sir, is to assist me to replace the limb that I unfortunately lost. The Government has already furnished me with one, but it did not last long. Owing to the fact that it was made for the Government, I suppose . . ."

Yet in spite of such distractions and the growing demands of business, Lea was able to keep the principal current of his life flowing smoothly, and even to increase his activities. He turned again to the preoccupations of the historian.

It has already been explained that the breakdown from overwork in 1847, while it apparently interrupted his creative efforts, had caused him to turn for diversion to the reading of history, and thus had led him to the field of research which later formed the chief object of his life.¹ The gradual return of health permitted him to enter more and more zealously into the study of history, until in 1857, as has been said, he had so judiciously applied his

¹ See Chapter III, p. 78.

scant hours of leisure that he had acquired an independent command of one field of history. Only the war postponed the fruition of these researches. The development of the historian during the first ten years of investigation is interestingly analyzed in a sketch which he later prepared at the request of the publishers of an encyclopædia:¹

“His attention was gradually directed from his youthful efforts in science to literature and then to history, especially that of the Middle Ages. In seeking to understand this thoroughly he soon became impressed with two facts: first, that the legislation of an age or country afforded the surest foundation for the comprehension of its institutions and its life; and second, that the original sources were, as far as possible, to be solely relied upon for material, secondary sources being too often swayed by subjective considerations. At that time there was no one within his reach who had pursued such studies and to whom he could look for advice and assistance, and no public libraries containing the necessary books. He was therefore obliged gradually to acquire a knowledge of the bibliography of the subjects which successively interested him, to accumulate around him the necessary material, and to lay out for himself the paths to be followed, all of which required patient and prolonged industry.

“In his medieval studies he was gradually impressed by the fact that in whatever direction he turned he was confronted by the Church. It was omnipresent and frequently omnipotent, not only in spiritual but in temporal affairs, and no one could comprehend the antagonizing forces which moulded the evolution of our civilization without understanding the sources of ecclesiastical power and the use to which it was put. Thus he was insensibly led to the study of Church history, and to seek in the canon law, the proceedings of councils and the utterances of

¹ Ms. in Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

Popes and theologians the secret of its domination, resulting in the series of volumes which embody his labors."

This definition of his field was partly the outcome of the long years of study previous to his first published book. It is probable that he entertained an ideal plan of his whole life work by the time it was written. Thus, it appears from his correspondence that even before *Superstition and Force* was published he saw the possibility of a history of the Inquisition, although at first he dismissed the project as beyond his powers. It is important to notice his intense interest in problems of human justice, if one would grasp the full significance of his choosing for his first work the subject of primitive injustice. One must also note his early interest in institutions. Like so many other historians he cherished the idea that there is a central and universal philosophy underlying the progress of history. He reasoned that it would emerge most fully in the understanding of a great institution, and he saw in the Catholic Church the strongest of all, and in the period of the Inquisition its most formal and most complex development.

In the passage quoted above there is reference to the difficulties encountered by the historian in gathering his materials. It was not only that he was without the preliminary training in bibliography that a person more specifically prepared for the task might have had, but also that many of the sources of his subject were largely uncharted when he began his investigations. For this reason he found it frequently necessary to employ much valuable time in merely discovering or assembling the materials with which to work. This, of course, is the lot of the pioneer in any field, and if he does his work well,

all subsequent laborers must profit by his efforts. Lea discovered very little work previous to his own that he was willing to build on. Professor Dana C. Munro has written:¹

"He had to learn the technique of historical method unaided. His great difficulty was in acquiring the necessary bibliographical information, of which he ultimately gained a mastery which won the admiration even of Lord Acton. When Langlois' *Manuel de Bibliographie Historique* was published, I took a copy to Mr. Lea. When he returned it a month later, he said, 'If I had had such a book fifty years ago, it would have saved me ten years of my life.' Yet in spite of all such obstacles he became the foremost historical scholar in America."

The first published evidence of Lea's research² was a review of Palgrave's *History of Normandy and England*, in the *North American Review* in 1858. His second article, however, which appeared in the same magazine the following January, became the foundation for a portion of *Superstition and Force*. Of the genesis of this book Professor George Lincoln Burr wrote:³

"The essay with which, in the *North American Review* for January, 1859, he began his career as a writer of history, showed him already a ripe historian. After the fashion of the time it found its text in a book of which it was nominally a review (the *Historical Studies* of the now forgotten Königswärter⁴), but its real theme, canonical compurgation and the wager of battle, suggested a

¹ Dedication Exercises of the Henry Charles Lea Library and Reading Room, University of Pennsylvania, May 28, 1925. Ms.

² For a full list of his historical writings, see Bibliography.

³ *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, 1910, No. 19, pp. 1-4.

⁴ Königswärter, Louis J.: *Études Historiques sur les Développements de la Société Humaine*, Paris, 1850.

field to which his life's study was to be devoted. 'Apart from the exact sciences,' he wrote, 'there is no subject more interesting, or which more fully repays the student, than the history of jurisprudence.' To the study of the history of jurisprudence, which he counted the history of society, he brought those habits of exact observation, that impatience with all but first-hand sources, which he had learned in the study of nature. From his first article, his papers may be detected by their copious footnotes of quotations and reference. A second study, on judicial ordeals, which took as a text the new edition of Du Cange,¹ appeared six months after the first, but as both the Königs-wärter and the Du Cange had now been ten years out of press, it may be guessed that the essays had been for years under way. In 1866, revised, enlarged, and with an added essay on the "History of Torture," they became, under the title of *Superstition and Force*, his first published book."

Professor Burr has indicated that *Superstition and Force* is a work of original scholarship, and not merely a derivative review of the two works which Lea's article set out to discuss. The copious footnotes show how very far the author had gone in the study of the important sources bearing on earlier judicial procedure and institutions. The book won immediate and lasting recognition, remaining for years one of the most important in its field. It was reprinted in 1870 and 1878, and revised and enlarged by the author in 1892.

Lea wrote to Lecky,² August 7, 1866, asking the English historian to accept a copy of his book, thus inaugurating a friendship and a correspondence continuous and mutually valuable for many years. In this letter there is a passage

¹ Du Cange, Charles: *Glossarium Mediæ et Infimæ Latinitatis cum Supplementis*, Paris, 1840-1850.

² Correspondence, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

which clearly indicates the writer's early conception of the duty of the historian to present his facts in the light of a principle of interpretation:

"You will observe towards the close of the last essay some reference to your recent *History of Rationalism*.¹ I can only regret that my attention was not sooner drawn to that most able work. It affords much food for thought, and under its stimulus I should have been tempted to a wider development of the philosophy of the subjects treated. As it is, I have sought to do little more than to present facts and barely to indicate their significance. Your book is one which I think can scarcely fail to exercise influence on the direction and progress of thought, and I trust that you will follow it with others which may aid in the development of a school in which history may be taught as it should be. We have had enough of annalists to chronicle political intrigues and military achievements; but that which constitutes the inner life of a people and from which are to be drawn the lessons of the past that will guide us in the future, has hitherto been too much neglected."

In spite of Lea's modest assertion to the contrary in the letter above, a reader of the book finds that he has done a great deal more than merely "to present facts and barely indicate their significance." In subsequent editions the author increased, by certain changes, the element of interpretation. The Preface to the edition of 1878 begins significantly: "The history of jurisprudence is the history of civilization. The labors of the lawgiver embody not only the manners and customs of his time, but also its innermost thoughts and beliefs, laid bare for our examination with a frankness that admits of no conceal-

¹ Lecky, W. E. H.: *A History of the Rise and Influence of Rationalism in Europe*, 2 vols., London, 1865.

ment." With this conviction the historian turned his attention to "the group of laws and customs through which our forefathers sought to discover hidden truth when disputed between man and man." The "laws and customs" were treated in the essays, "The Wager of Law," "The Wager of Battle," "The Ordeal," and "Torture," to each of which a section of the book is devoted. The wager of law he found rooted in the ancient social organization of the Aryan races, which he described. Out of the ancient legal custom of accepting the oath of the litigant grew the subsequent need to make this oath more binding. "The defendant, when denying the allegation under oath, appeared surrounded by a number of companions, *juratores*, *conjuratores*, . . . *compurgatores*, as they were variously termed, who swore, not to their knowledge of the facts, but as sharers and partakers of the oath of denial."¹ From this practice the author derives the "remarkable custom which was subsequently known as canonical compurgation," which became to the Church a system "admirably suited for her defence in an age of brute force." The uses and administration of compurgation by the Church, and its subsequent adoption and still later decline as a function of the civil procedure of English and Continental courts, forms the body of the essay. It spans a period of European history from earliest Aryan times until the end of the sixteenth century, and displays an easy command of Church history from the year 800, and the significant recognition of canonical compurgation in connection with a legal dispute between Pope Leo III and the Emperor Charlemagne.

The wager of battle Lea found also rooted in ancient

¹ *Superstition and Force*, p. 32.

Aryan custom. He differentiated it sharply from the duel, a single combat with vengeance or reparation as its object. The wager of battle was based on the simple faith that whatever the relative strength of skill of the contestants, the power of God, or the primitive principle of justice, would intervene to grant victory to the right. The chronicle of the rise and flourishing of this method of trial led the writer through the history of Europe from primitive times to the disappearance of the custom in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and took him far into the history of the Church, which for a long time sanctioned the practice. The persistence of its influence he found very interestingly illustrated in certain legal survivals in Europe and the United States as late as the nineteenth century.

In treating the ordeal, Lea was dealing with a subject of wide application, for this ancient custom is fundamentally based upon the universal "tendency of the human mind to cast its doubts on God." In almost every primitive society the history had found evidence of the belief that the god would lend the falsely accused the power to endure physical suffering which ordinarily could not be borne, or would abrogate natural laws to prove his innocence. In treating the origins of this practice, therefore, the writer was led to an examination of the primitive customs and beliefs of mankind in many parts of the world. In this study he probably acquired the beginnings of that keen interest in superstition and witchcraft which he maintained throughout his subsequent life. It thus foreshadows the subject of his last research, a study of witchcraft, which he had not yet completed at the time of his death. The number and diversity of primitive civil-

izations with which he was well acquainted is indicated by the long list of early peoples whose cultures he treats with easy familiarity in establishing the origins of the ordeal. African tribes, and the peoples of the Indian and Pacific archipelagos, as well as the scanty records of the pre-Aryan Indian tribes, yielded the most primitive examples of the ordeal. More advanced uses of the custom were found in ancient Egypt and among the Semitic peoples, the Assyrians, Hebrews and Moslems. Among the Aryans Lea found examples of the sanction of this system of trial in the religions of Mazdeism, Hinduism and Buddhism; he found it anciently employed by Hellenes, Italiotes, Celts, Teutons and Slavs. Because the ordeal is a naïve recognition of the power of the deity, its later history in western Europe is largely confined to the period of sanction by the Church, and the investigation which Lea pursued in this study reveals his certain grasp of Church history and his acquaintance with the sources even at this earlier period of his study. The ordeal was adopted by the Church during the missionary movements in the tenth and eleventh centuries, wherever she found it already established in primitive custom, but she endowed it with ecclesiastical functions and increased its formality until a reaction occurred and it was denounced by the Fourth Lateran Council, under Pope Innocent III, in 1215. From that time it began rapidly to decline. The bulk of Lea's essay was devoted to a study of the development and administration of the various forms of ordeal in the hands of the Church, and to the citation and examination of numerous cases in which various ordeals were employed. He studied the ordeals of boiling water, red hot iron, fire, cold water, the balance, the cross, the

cornsæd, the eucharist, the lot, bier-right, oaths, poison, and others; he examined their origins, sanction, administration, and decline, and finally their relationship to secular legislation.

In his treatment of torture Lea was perhaps closer to the subject of his most important later work than at any other point in this first book, for the principal emphasis of this essay falls naturally on the use of torture by the Inquisition. He explained that the ordeal and torture were alternatives and seldom existed together, torture, in general, appearing later. After examining the uses of torture in primitive times, by the Egyptians, the Assyrians, the Greeks, the Romans, the Barbarians and the Goths, he showed its decline in western Europe in the early period of Feudalism, because of the general opposition to it among secular institutions. He then traced its gradual reappearance in various countries in the thirteenth century under the stimulus of the renaissance of Roman legal practices, and its adoption by the Church in its efforts to suppress heresy. His treatment of the use of torture in the inquisitorial procedure of secular as well as ecclesiastical courts is based upon extensive research. The later connection of torture with witchcraft trials was fully examined, with instances proving the survival of the custom in various countries until well into the nineteenth century.

This sketch of the contents of *Superstition and Force* does not adequately reveal the interpretation that is inherent in his treatment of every subject which he approached. He condemned no race, religion or society, but saw each one in the light of historical perspective. Above all, he recognized an evolution through the whole study, and he was interested to determine the direction

of human thought and the steps by which its progress had been accomplished. Perhaps the passage with which he concluded the book will serve to indicate his point of view:

“The mysteries of the human conscience and of human motives are well-nigh inscrutable, and it may seem shocking to assert that these centuries of unmitigated wrong are indirectly traceable to that religion of which the second great commandment was that man should love his neighbor as himself. Yet so it was. The first commandment, to love God with all our heart, when perverted by superstition gave a strange direction to the teachings of Christ. For ages, the assumptions of an infallible church had led men to believe that the interpreter was superior to Scripture. Every expounder of the holy text felt in his inmost heart that he alone, with his fellows, worshipped God as God desired to be worshipped, and that every ritual but his own was an insult to the Divine nature. Outside of his own communion there was no escape from eternal perdition, and the fervor of religious conviction thus made persecution a duty to God and man. This led the Inquisition, as we have seen, to perfect a system of which the iniquity was complete. Thus recommended, that system became part and parcel of secular law, and when the Reformation arose, the habits of thought which ages had consolidated were universal. The boldest Reformers who shook off the yoke of Rome, as soon as they had attained power had as little scruple as Rome itself in rendering obligatory their interpretation of divine truth, and in applying to secular as well as to religious affairs the cruel maxims in which they had been educated.

“Yet in the general enlightenment which caused and accompanied the Reformation, there passed away gradually the passions which had created the rigid institutions of the Middle Ages. Those institutions had fulfilled their mission, and the savage tribes that had broken down the

worn-out civilization of Rome were at last becoming fitted for a higher civilization than the world had yet seen, wherein the precepts of the Gospel might at length find practical expression and realization. For the first time in the history of man the universal love and charity which lie at the foundation of Christianity are recognized as the elements on which human society should be based. Weak and erring as we are, and still far distant from the ideal of the Saviour, yet are we approaching it, even if our steps are painful and hesitating. In the slow evolution of the centuries, it is only by comparing distant periods that we can mark our progress; but progress nevertheless exists, and future generations, perhaps, may be able to emancipate themselves wholly from the cruel and arbitrary domination of superstition and force."

From what has been said of *Superstition and Force* it should be clear that by the time of this first book Lea was an accomplished historian who had already progressed far in independent research. He had developed a method; he was rapidly defining his field. Even in this first study, which announces its subject as the history of jurisprudence, we find that much emphasis has been put upon the history of the Church, and especially of the Inquisition. The following year he published his second book, completely within the field of church history.

This, *An Historical Sketch of Sacerdotal Celibacy in the Christian Church*, appeared in May, 1867. In the third and revised edition, in 1907, it reached the scope of two large volumes, and the word "sketch" disappeared from the title. It is an account, in each period and geographical section of the Church, of the emergence, development, abuses, advantages and final position of clerical celibacy. The polemical nature of the subject treated, and the fact that no historical account, attempting to present the

evidence objectively, had previously been written, made the work immediately interesting to scholars, and caused it to attract even a popular audience. The book was remarkable for its freedom from bias and for the careful documentation which gave authority to the facts presented. In his Preface, Lea stated his point of view toward the work and defined its scope:

“So far as I am aware, no work of the kind exists in English literature, and those which have appeared in Continental languages are almost exclusively of a controversial character. It has been my aim to avoid polemics, and I have therefore sought merely to state facts as I have found them, without regard to their bearing upon either side of the questions involved. As those questions have long been the subject of ardent disputation, it has seemed proper to substantiate every statement with a reference to its authority. The scope of the work is designedly confined to the enforced celibacy of the sacerdotal class. The vast history of monachism has therefore only been touched upon incidentally when it has served to throw light upon the rise and progress of religious asceticism. The various celibate communities which have arisen in this country, such as the Dunkers and Shakers, are likewise excluded from the plan of the volume.”

In a foreword preceding Chapter I,¹ the author explains the reasons for writing so comprehensive a history of this one aspect of Catholic history. “The Latin Church,” he says, “is the great fact which dominates the history of modern civilization. All other agencies which moulded the destinies of medieval Europe were comparatively isolated or sporadic in their manifestations . . . This vast fabric of ecclesiastical supremacy presents one of

¹ Edition of 1907, 1, 1-3.

the most curious problems which the world's history affords. Through its perfected organization the Church wielded its wide and absolute authority, deriving its force from moral power alone, marshalling no legions of its own in battle array, but permeating everything with its influence, walking unarmed through deadly strife, rising with renewed strength from every prostration, triumphing alike over the savage nature of the barbarian and the enervated apathy of the Roman tributary, blending discordant races and jarring nations into one great brotherhood of subjection—such was the Papal hierarchy, a marvel and a mystery. . . . The investigations of the curious can hardly be deemed misapplied in analyzing the elements of this impalpable but irresistible power, and in examining the causes which have enabled it to preserve such unity of action amid such diversity of environment, presenting everywhere by turns a solid and united front to the opposing influences of barbarism and civilization. In detaching one of these elements from the group, and tracing out its successive vicissitudes, I may therefore be pardoned for thinking the subject of sufficient interest to warrant a minuteness of detail that would otherwise perhaps appear disproportionate. It was by no means the least of the facts in the conquering career of the Church that it required of all to whom it granted the supernatural powers conferred in holy orders that they should surrender themselves to it unreservedly and irrevocably, that they should sunder all human ties, should have no aspirations beyond its service, . . . and no ambitions save for the rewards which it alone could bestow."

Since the author had set for himself the task of chronicling not only the history of established and enforced

clerical celibacy, but also the gradual emergence from earliest times of that ideal, the subject cut across every period of Church history from the Ante-Nicene Church and the year 150 A.D. to the most recent times, and took him into every country in which the Church was established and into almost every period. The book becomes thus a virtual history of the Church itself, viewed, of course, from only one standpoint, but that most significant.

There is a strong likelihood that this work was completed before *Superstition and Force* had taken the form of a book. In the Preface to the first edition the author states that it was "written several years since," and he intimated the same thing to Goldwin Smith in a letter¹ of the same year, 1867. The research involved in such work must have cost him his leisure for several years, for it is based upon an even wider range of investigation than *Superstition and Force*. He would not have begun to write such a monograph until he felt that he had exhausted every available source of information, and the scope of this book is therefore evidence of the fact that by 1867 he was thoroughly grounded in the subject. He later told Professor Munro that in the course of the writing he read the 217 volumes of Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, which includes all but the index volumes; and this in spite of the fact, as Professor Munro points out,² that this was "only a small portion of the material he used." An extensive correspondence with l'Abbé Migne, whom Lea greatly admired, took place in 1866, when Lea completed the purchase of his set of the *Patrologia*, and the two men exchanged views on

¹ Correspondence, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

² Dedication Exercises of the Henry Charles Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania, May 28, 1925. Ms.

matters of interest to them both. Lea expressed his admiration for the labors of the Frenchman, who replied, "Je vous remercie cordialement de vos éloges d' autant plus qu'ils partent d'un connaisseur." But if Migne's acquaintance with *Superstition and Force* was flattering, the recognition of *Sacerdotal Celibacy* by so prominent a historian as Lecky must have been a source of the keenest pleasure to Lea, for the Irishman went out of his way to express his praise in the midst of his own book. In his *History of European Morals* (1869), Chapter V, Lecky said, "This subject has recently been treated with very great learning and with admirable impartiality by an American author, Mr. Henry C. Lea, in his *History of Sacerdotal Celibacy*, which is certainly one of the most valuable works that America has produced. Since the great history of Dean Milman I know no work in English which has thrown more light on the moral conditions of the Middle Ages, and none which is more fitted to dispel the gross illusions concerning that period which Positivist writers, and writers of a certain ecclesiastical school have conspired to sustain." In the light of such praise as this it is all the more remarkable that the research upon which the book rests was performed during the limited leisure of the crowded war years, and in the intervals of business pressure. Years later, Lea wrote to Professor Paul Frédéricq, of Ghent: "Until 1880, my only hours for study were at night and on Sundays." He explained his manner of work more fully in a letter of October 4, 1867, to Goldwin Smith,¹ whom he had met during the war, and who became for years a friend and correspondent:

¹ Correspondence, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

"What you say as to the annoyances of authorship may be true when it is a pursuit and the taste becomes palled. With me, however, it is but a relaxation from the cares of an engrossing business and the many pre-occupations which weigh upon a man of family and a citizen in this great republic of ours. The hour or two which, amid ceaseless interruptions, I endeavor to give to study in my evenings, are not only an intense pleasure but a valuable counterpoise. More than once I have felt the danger, in the absorbing excitement of a successful business career, of becoming a mere machine for making money. In this country a man has to do his own work and attend to details with a closeness unknown in Europe, where trained business talent may be had at a moderate price and be kept in a subordinate situation. This makes the life of a business man excessively laborious and has a tendency to unfit him for everything except the narrow sphere in which lie his daily avocations. Some intellectual pursuit of a higher character thus becomes a most valuable antiseptic to preserve the mind from corrupting and moulding, and I get so little opportunity to enjoy it that I am not in much danger of becoming cloyed."

It was through Goldwin Smith that Lea had at first hoped to interest an English publisher in his work, and to that end he had written Smith the previous April. Before the reply came, however, Lippincott's had undertaken the publication, and their connection with the English firm of Trübner assured the attention of the English reader. In the letter to Smith Lea intimated that the impartiality which Lecky had noted in his *Sacerdotal Celibacy* was far from accidental. "My endeavor," he wrote, "has been to make the work, as far as is possible with such a subject, purely historical and not polemical." That endeavor was plainly implied in the closing passage of *Superstition and Force*, already quoted.

It persisted throughout his long preoccupation with subjects which had been constantly treated by others with passion and prejudice. Many years later, when M. Salomon Reinach was supervising a French translation of *Sacerdotal Celibacy*, Lea wrote him,¹ July 2, 1901, "I would ask as a favor that you would personally read with care the new chapter on 'Solicitation in the Confessional.' The subject is *scabreux* and much of the material disgusting. It cannot be fitted *virginibus puerisque*, but I have endeavored to treat it as decently as I could. Still I look upon it with misgivings, and if you think better to omit it, do so." Later he wrote Professor Lingelbach,² "I have never sought to influence the religious beliefs of others, but I have always been inspired with the desire to ascertain and set forth impartially the absolute facts of history and let them teach their own lesson." On reading *Sacerdotal Celibacy*, Dean Milman was at a loss to determine whether its author was Catholic or Protestant. A passage in his letter is interesting:

"I must acknowledge that I hardly expected to receive from your side of the Atlantic a book which so completely exhausts a most important question in ecclesiastical history. Indeed, I hardly expected that your libraries would furnish such a range of authorities as you have had at your command. Full, comprehensive, as far as I can judge (and I hold myself to have some right to form a judgment) and in its fair and candid tone as remarkable as in the care and industry with which it has been prepared. Allow me to add this, and in my view I can add no higher praise, that for at least half the volume I could not discover what your special religious views and tenets may be."

¹ Correspondence, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

² Lingelbach, W. E.: Address to the Home and School Association, Henry Charles Lea School, Philadelphia, March 15, 1915.

Friendly as this letter is, in spite of its somewhat moderate appraisal of American scholarship, it reveals a lack of understanding of Lea's method of work in its supposition that it would be dependent upon the resources of older American libraries. Even in this early stage, Lea's research was international in scope. He never used a secondary source if he could secure, anywhere in the world, a primary source or a copy of it, and he had already accumulated in his own library the source materials for his early books. Many times in his life the historian was forced to declare this important fact. Perhaps the first occasion was his reply to a review of *Celibacy* in the *Quarterly Review*, October, 1869. Lea answered in the *Nation* for November 25, 1869:

"In the October number of the *Quarterly Review* there is a somewhat elaborate notice of my *Historical Sketch of Sacerdotal Celibacy*. While making my acknowledgments to the reviewer for the generally favorable tone in which it has pleased him to speak of my labors, I must beg leave to protest against his assumption that I have intentionally omitted to own my obligations to my predecessors. This is the last charge that I should have anticipated against myself, as I have always made it a point to cite my authority for every fact, at the risk of over-burdening my page with footnotes. The reviewer appears to rely upon my not having alluded in my Preface to the *Introduction of Compulsory Celibacy* by the Brothers Theiner. In fact, I am not only unacquainted with German, but I did not even know of the existence of the book until I saw it referred to in a review of my own volume. It may seem singular that I should be thus unfamiliar with the labors of my predecessors, but it is the result of my manner of working. At an early period in my historical studies, I found the danger of trusting to second-hand authorities. For years, therefore, my effort has been to accumulate

around me all the authorities requisite for independent work. I have thus paid little attention to the labors of others, and have made it a rule never to trust a citation or a reference where I had the means of consulting the original authority, so that I could myself judge the spirit as well as the letter of the matter referred to."

The collection of these original authorities, or of transcripts of them when documents were unique and therefore could not be procured from foreign collections, was during this period beginning to occupy much of Lea's time. His objective was ambitious, for he already had determined to attempt a history of the Inquisition; and each of the many correspondents who wrote him from abroad was asked to apprise him of materials that had come to his notice. Lecky, Goldwin Smith and Lagrèze were all asked to assist in this way. His correspondence with his fellow-historians gradually took on almost a social aspect, and occupied most of the time which he was willing to devote to that side of life. To be sure, he occasionally met Philadelphia friends in the course of his attendance at institutional meetings, particularly those of the old Library Company of Philadelphia, of whose Board he was long a member. In 1867, he likewise joined a group of gentlemen in founding the Saturday Club, which accepted the intellectual responsibilities that the remnant of the Wistar Party had relinquished at the time of the Civil War. In 1883 the Saturday Club became the Fortnightly Club with Lea as a prominent member; in 1886 it was reorganized as the Wistar Association with Lea as Dean. Except for these few associations, the historian denied himself the luxury of social intercourse. Later on, from 1871 until the end of the century, he was drawn

once again into national and local political activities by his keen interest and active participation in the various reform movements which did so much to destroy the worst political abuses of the period. This interest absorbed much of the time that he might otherwise have devoted to social contacts, and very naturally afforded him many gratifying friendships. A full consideration of this aspect of Lea's life must be deferred to another place.¹

Meanwhile, in 1868 and 1869, his interest in the history of the Church was growing, his knowledge deepening, and his careful collection of materials progressing. He brought to the task of research the combined accuracy of the business man and the scientist. The margins of the works he examined are painstakingly annotated and rich in cross-references, and his voluminous notes show a scrupulous care to extract the materials which were to be of service in work destined not to be completed for twenty years. He continued his search, country by country, for materials on the Inquisition. It was some years before he formed an acquaintance with the scholars who were able to give him the proper advice concerning his quest in Italy, but in Belgium the friendship of Professor Paul Frédéricq proved invaluable from the beginning of his researches. Lecky was attempting to secure for him access to the Ms. collection at Trinity College, Dublin, and to find a person able to make an examination and transcripts of the sources. The letters between the two at this time reveal a warm spirit of sympathetic appreciation, and serve admirably to indicate Lea's interests. On December 5, 1869, he wrote:²

¹ See Chapters V and VI.

² Correspondence, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

"I have just finished your *History of Morals*, and hasten to thank you for the very great pleasure which I have derived from it. It is a brilliant book, which for acuteness of thought and range of material is not readily to be paralleled in our literature. I do not wonder, however, after reading the last chapter, at the animadversions which you tell me it has brought upon you from certain quarters. There are one or two paragraphs in which, with equal force and truth, you characterize the narrowing and contracting tendencies of theological teachings in a manner sufficiently aggressive to provoke a large amount of pious wrath. The more I investigate the history of the Church the less easy do I find it to preserve the proper amount of toleration for intolerance, and the warmer become my convictions of the evils which have sprung from the vast theological structure erected upon the simple and sublime primal truths of Christianity. I wish very much that you would continue your labors with an investigation into the era of Charlemagne and his immediate descendants. In the ninth century are to be found the sources of the institutions, religious, social, and political, which governed Europe until the Reformation, and an exhaustive study of the causes and results of the forces then at work, executed with your acuteness and thoroughness, would be a real contribution to history. A small portion of this I have attempted in an episodic way in my new book of essays on Church History, a copy of which I have desired my London publisher to forward to you."

The work to which he refers in his letter, *Studies in Church History*, had been published only the previous month. Like his first book, this had its beginnings in a magazine article. "The Temporal Power of the Church" had been published in the *North American Review* in 1861. A review of a new edition of Milman's *History of Latin Christianity* served for its introduction, but the body of the essay is the result of Lea's own independent researches.

Amplified to three times its former length, it appeared in this volume as the first essay, "The Rise of the Temporal Power." To this were added, in the first edition of the book, two essays: "Excommunication," and "Benefit of Clergy." In 1883 the whole was revised, with an added essay, "The Early Church and Slavery," which, like the first, had its inception in a magazine article published before any of his books. This was a monograph of the same title as the later extended essay,¹ and appeared in the *North American Review* in 1865. In the Preface to the first edition the author was again careful to state his purpose:

"Throughout the whole I have sought rather to present facts than to draw inferences, and I have endeavored to confine myself to points which illustrate the temporal aspect of ecclesiastical history, showing how the church, in meeting the successive crises of its career, succeeded in establishing the absolute theocratic despotism which diverted it so strangely from its spiritual functions. If in this I have appeared to dwell too exclusively on the faults and wrong-doings of the church, it has arisen from no lack of appreciation of the services rendered to humanity by the organization which in all ages has assumed for itself a monopoly of the heritage of Christ. . . . Yet we may not unreasonably inquire how much greater would have been our advance in all that renders us worthy of the precepts of the Gospel had that church always been true to its momentous trust."

The four essays composing the *Studies* are of great interest and wide scope. Of the first, it should suffice for description to quote the analysis of Professor Burr.² He

¹ See Bibliography, "Historical Works."

² Burr, G. L.: "The Historical Work of Henry C. Lea," Dedication of the Henry Charles Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania, May 28, 1925. Ms.

very clearly sees in this essay a reflection of the historical interests which occupied the mind of Lea in 1861, as well as a forecast of the long series of books which he was subsequently to write:

“The themes of (his) first essays belong chiefly to secular jurisprudence. Already, however, in 1861, the study which the *North American Review* prints in its issues for January and April betrays a changing orientation of his interest. This time it is a new edition of Dean Milman’s *History of Latin Christianity* that serves him for a text; but so little does he busy himself with Milman that at the end he apologizes for having ‘used his volumes rather as an epigraph than as a subject of discourse.’ He sets out with an enumeration of the appalling mass of materials which should be ransacked by the conscientious historian of the Christian Church. Can it be that for a moment he dreamed even of that task? How masterfully he might have handled it we can guess from that chapter on “The Eve of the Reformation” which Lord Acton was one day to win from him for the great *Cambridge Modern History*. But for the present he addresses himself only to what he calls ‘one of the most curious problems of history:’ ‘the rise of the Bishop of Rome, from the persecuted head of an insignificant local church to the supreme domination over both the spiritual and the temporal hierarchy of Europe.’ But this was not to desert the history of jurisprudence. His footnotes, which take up nearly half his pages, show his sources to be almost wholly legal—canons, capitularies, decretals. It is because as he explains, ‘the practical supremacy of the Pope . . . arose from the universal jurisdiction assumed by (him);’ and though his survey breaks off with Nicholas I and the False Decretals, his closing paragraphs remarkably foreshadow all the work of his later life. ‘Concerning the oppression of the Church,’ he says, ‘much curious material exists which, had space permitted, we should have liked to examine. We would also have desired to follow the Papal power in its fluctu-

ating career of victory and to trace the effects of the principles which Nicholas so boldly established. The successive contests of the Popes with the bishops to eradicate the corroding cancer of simony; with the priesthood to enforce the neglected rule of celibacy; with the secular power to free the church from all dependence on the laity; with the people to repress heresies which were constantly arising,—all these are questions which spring naturally from the theory of the False Decretals, presenting food for abundant thought and opportunity for picturesque narration. . . . These themes, however, would require not one, but many volumes.’ For them he was at the moment content to refer his readers to Milman; but, one by one, he took them up himself.”

As Professor Burr points out, Lea’s subsequent works were a fulfillment of this outline: the completed *Studies*, the *Celibacy*, and the eight volumes of the *History of the Inquisition*.

The second of the essays in *Studies in Church History*, “Benefit of Clergy,” involved a detailed cross-section of Church history from the Council of Nicæa to the end of the Reformation, with a rapid survey of the influence of the theory of clerical immunity in various countries subsequent to that time. Lea showed clearly the importance of an understanding of this theory in any view of the Christian Church, and to its operation he traced much of the power exercised by the Papacy previously to the Reformation. “Not only did (the clergy) thus acquire a peculiar sanctity, which separated them from the people and secured for them veneration, but the personal inviolability thence surrounding them gave them enormous advantage in all contests with the civil power. Secure in this panoply of privilege, they could dare all things; . . . the statutes of emperors and kings were to them but the

idle breath of men; the Church was independent of the civil power, and in its aggressive enterprises it occupied a vantage ground of incalculable value."

The third essay, "Excommunication," was even more extensive. "In the long career of the church toward universal domination," he says, "perhaps the most efficient instrument at its command was its control over the sacrifices of the altar. Through this it opened the gates of heaven to the obedient, and plunged the rebellious into the pit of hell; . . . It could intervene decisively in the dissensions between sovereigns and people and subdue them both to its designs of highest statecraft; . . . while at the same time it could control the life of the obscurest peasant and bind him helplessly, in blind submission to the behests of its humblest minister." Lea began his examination of excommunication with the doctrines of the primitive Church and the scriptural authorizations for the practice, leading up to its adoption as a regular penalty in the later ecclesiastical organization. Under the Papacy he showed how spiritual power was transmuted into temporal authority, leading to the gradual emergence of the supremacy of Rome and its close connection with the temporal power in various states. In the conflicts with the Barbarians he developed the further extension of the power of excommunication and its support by the Interdict. Through the Carlovingian reconstruction he traced the final and successful efforts of the Church to secure an effective check upon the political affairs of western Europe, and showed the results of this struggle in the section, "Church and State." Next he turned to the attempts of the Church to maintain its position against the opposition of the feudal powers,

and detailed the political results in this period. He showed the further extension of the power of the Church through the control of the treatment of excommunicates in the temporal courts, and fully analyzed the abuses which arose from this power. Finally he described the decline of excommunication, culminating in the declaration of Louis XIV of France, in 1682, that the Church had "power only over spiritual things . . . and not over temporal and civil matters;" and he showed the beneficent results of this change, not only for the European states, but also for the Church itself. The essay ends with an analysis of the views on excommunication maintained by the various reformed churches; and treats the influence of great leaders of reformation like Wickliffe, Huss, Luther and Calvin.

The essay on "The Early Church and Slavery," although not included in the volume of *Studies* until the edition of 1883, was originally published as an article in 1865, and derives a special interest from the fact that it followed so closely upon the emancipation of the southern negroes and the abolition of slavery in America. It is a study of the influence of early Christianity on the institution of slavery, "a sphere of action," as the author says in his Preface, "in which (the Church) was more nearly true to its principles than in those discussed in the earlier sections of the volume." In its first form, in the *North American Review*, it was in part a review of two books¹ recently published; but, as in other cases which have been mentioned, the works under consideration served principally as an introduction to the materials on the subject which Lea had gathered in his own investigations.

¹ See Bibliography.

In these first three books, as has been said, Lea revealed himself as already a trained investigator, although his major works did not appear until twenty years later. He had developed a point of view and a technique which was to set him sharply apart from most of his predecessors among American historians. He was to become a leader in the new philosophical interpretation and scientific treatment of history. Professor Cheyney¹ has interestingly developed this fact:

"The early part of Mr. Lea's life was contemporaneous with the beginnings of American historical production. The historical works of Irving, *Columbus*, and the *Conquest of Granada*, were published during Mr. Lea's earliest years. In 1834 appeared the first volume of Bancroft's *History of the United States*. In 1837 Prescott began his historical career by the publication of *Ferdinand and Isabella*. Parkman's first work, the *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, was published in 1851, and the first volume of Motley's *Rise of the Dutch Republic* in 1856, when Mr. Lea was collecting materials for his *Superstition and Force*.

"A marked difference, however, is to be noted between the historical work of these writers and that of Mr. Lea. Each of the five chose as a subject a period of time or a series of events or group of personalities which possessed some well-defined dramatic character. . . . In contrast with these Mr. Lea chose a much earlier period of the world's history and a group of subjects during that period of which the elements are less emotional, more intellectual; in which the problem is rather to understand than to depict, rather to explain than to narrate. . . . He wrote principally on institutions. The medieval conceptions of law; the organization, ideals, doctrines and

¹ Cheyney, E. P.: "On the Life and Works of Henry Charles Lea," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 1911, vol. 50, No. 198, pp. xiii-xvi.

practices of the medieval Church; the origin, development, connections and influence of the Inquisition, such were the great problems he took up for solution. In this more difficult and more philosophical conception of history Mr. Lea was a pioneer in America, and his choice was apparently made independently even of such European scholars as had preceded him in it.

"Why he made this choice has long been a matter of interest to historical scholars. . . . It is to be remembered that Mr. Lea's early surroundings and interests were largely in the field of natural science. The analogy between the history of institutions and the study of natural science is very close. There is the same subordination of the individual to the type, the same interest in logical classification, the same greater attention to observation than to exposition. It would seem entirely natural therefore that Mr. Lea, having become interested in the Middle Ages, would want to understand and elucidate the rules of medieval law and organized medieval religion, rather than merely to narrate the story of external events during the period.

"The same early interest in natural history, acting on a certain type of mind strengthened by a business training, may be the clue to Mr. Lea's adoption of so distinctly scientific a method in his historical work. Scientific method is much the same to whatever department of knowledge it is applied. It is simply the direct method, going as immediately as possible to the phenomena which it is intended to observe; the objective method, treating the phenomena without subjective distortion or personal bias; the comparative method, treating individual examples and occurrences as material for classification and generalization; the rigorous method, using only facts that can be absolutely verified, or when this is impossible, discriminating clearly the different degrees of certitude of fact. Allowing for certain difficulties in obtaining and interpreting the material with which the historian has to deal, no biologist, chemist or astronomer has been more

true to these canons of scientific method than has Mr. Lea in his historical works.

"There is one corollary of this attitude toward history, however, that Mr. Lea was not willing to accept. To most scientific historians it seems no more within their province to express ethical judgments on the men and institutions of the past, or to draw practical lessons for the present from them than it is part of the duty of other scientific investigators. . . . Mr. Lea did not feel so. In the Preface to his *History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages* he said: 'No serious historical work is worth the writing or the reading unless it conveys a moral. I have not paused to moralize, but I have missed my aim if the events narrated are not so presented as to teach their appropriate lesson.' Yet I am inclined to believe that the conception of the historian as also a moralist became less pronounced in Mr. Lea's mind as his life went on. In his *History of the Inquisition of Spain* his judgments of the Church are less severe than in his earlier work. He was more willing, I think, in later than earlier life to tell the story and leave his readers to draw from it what moral they wished. In his own words, 'The historian may often feel righteous indignation, or what he conceives to be righteous, but he should strenuously repress it as a luxury to be left to his readers.' Two years before his death he wrote 'I have always sought, even though infinitesimally, to contribute to the betterment of the world by indicating the consequences of evil and of inconsiderate and misdirected zeal. The search for truth has been stimulated by the desire to diminish the consequences of error.'"

A brief description of Lea's method of work will show how carefully it was adapted to his purposes.¹

"Its salient characteristic was absence of bias. He respected every man's right to his own religious views, and particularly avoided anything in the nature of proselyting. He held no brief for any creed, and no reader of

¹ *Henry Charles Lea, 1825-1909*, pp. 5-6.

his pages can discover therefrom whether he was Catholic or Protestant. The scales of fairness could not be tried by any more conclusive test. He was solely concerned with the truth, and in its ascertainment he rejected works of opinion, going directly to the records of the time. From these original and incontrovertible sources he drew comprehensive material, illuminated the facts with profound learning, set them in effective juxtaposition, and pointed out their reasonable interpretation. In weighing evidence he trained his mind to the finest balance. His historical method was developed with scientific pains, no effort being too great for his industry in ascertaining all the facts bearing on a subject or in setting them forth instructively. His method of work required more than double writing in creating the finished manuscript. The first step was an exhaustive reading of everything relating to the subject in hand. His reflections were set down with copious notes and bibliographical references, all systematically arranged in provisional chapters, with subheadings and marginal indexes. Thus the scattered parts of each subject were brought into rational connection, and the development of events was traced from cause to effect, perhaps centuries apart. In this organization of material from an evolutionary point of view, which is one of the main distinctions between the modern science of history and the narratives of early writers, Mr. Lea was an acknowledged master. The preliminary manuscript when completed brought the whole of each topic before his mind, and it was then rewritten and greatly condensed. Mr. Lea held that only the author could properly index a book, and he bestowed no less care on this important instrument than upon the text itself. His workmanship was complete, everything else being subordinate to this. Time was never considered nor was it ever wasted. Labor instead of being a curse was one of life's great blessings. Asked if he really enjoyed what appeared to others to be unremitting drudgery, he replied that there was no pleasure equal to it. Intellectual absorption was happiness to him."

Professor Munro, who had as good an opportunity as anyone could have to observe Lea at his work, has told us something further about his orderly and scientific gathering of material:¹

"Whenever he found any passage in a source which concerned in any way the subject which he was studying, he copied the passage. He was careful to copy not only the portion which he might wish to quote, but all the context, however lengthy, which was necessary for its elucidation. Slowly grew the mass of foolscap sheets. When he had exhausted all his sources the next step was to make an analytical index of his notes. This index he considered all-important. As he said, the index dictated the scope and contents and plan of the work. It showed just what material there was on each subject. Up to the time the index was complete, Mr. Lea refused to form any judgment concerning the subjects on which he had been working. Then a careful study of the index enabled him to plan his chapter headings and contents. When he found that he had a disproportionate amount of material on some subject, he published it in a separate article in order not to cumber the volume. Then began the task of writing and re-writing the book, and the latter was not at all perfunctory. One spring Mr. Lea said that the first volume of the *History of Confession and Indulgences* would be published before his return in the fall. In October, when I inquired as to the progress of the work, he replied that he had found new material which necessitated rewriting the whole work, consequently the complete volume had been scrapped."

It will be seen from Professor Munro's explanation, as will be clear to anyone who examines the rough manuscripts with which Lea worked, that his method of collecting materials on loose leaves, together with the subsequent

¹ Munro, Dana C.: Address, "Dedication of the Henry Charles Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania," May 28, 1925. Ms.

arrangement according to a content index, brought together under subject heads information drawn from widely separated periods of history or greatly diverse sources, thus enabling him to deal with vast and cumbersome fields with a minimum of waste and effort.

Thus equipped and thus successfully embarked on his chosen career, settled in his permanent home at 2000 Walnut Street, in the midst of a library which more and more met his needs, the historian might have gone on rapidly to the larger labors that lay before him. The casual reader of the bibliography of his historical works may therefore be surprised to note that almost twenty years elapsed between the *Studies in Church History*, in 1869, and his next work, *A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, in 1888. It was not merely the enormous scope of the latter work which necessitated the long intermission, although the gathering of materials for a three-volume work on the Inquisition of the Middle Ages, by a scholar who insisted, as Lea did, upon completeness, was laborious. Though his attention was diverted temporarily from the Inquisition to sorcery and witchcraft, his work would have proceeded to a much earlier conclusion had he not been interrupted, from 1878 to 1884, by serious illness. During these years he was threatened with nervous collapse and blindness, and no work of close scholarship was possible. Yet, although he was not a young man, and the tragedy of his deferred labors lay heavy on his mind, he refused to perform unsatisfactory or incomplete work, and the piles of unfinished manuscript lay untouched in his library until the skill of Dr. S. Weir Mitchell wrought the unexpected miracle, and the historian was able, at the age of fifty-nine, to resume his labors.

A general summary of the period will prove instructive. Before *Studies in Church History* was published, in 1869, the historian was already engaged in the collection, in every available quarter, of documents and materials relating to the Inquisition. From 1870 until 1875 he concentrated his attention upon forming contacts with scholars who could secure transcripts from the sources, or loans of the originals. He made careful notes and digests of materials thus placed at his disposal. They came from everywhere: from Venice, Naples, Florence, the Vatican, Milan and a host of less rich Italian sources; from the Royal Library at Copenhagen, from the Bodleian at Oxford, from the Trinity College Library in Dublin; from Switzerland and the Netherlands; from various centers in Germany; from Paris and the South of France; from cities in Central and South America where the Inquisition had left its traces. By 1876, although he had assembled a vast amount of general information on the Inquisition, he had become specifically interested in one phase of his studies that temporarily attracted his attention. This, as he explains, was a history of sorcery and witchcraft, and an investigation into the theories of the origin of evil which led him through all the great religions of the world. Four chapters of this work had been written before August, 1878, when the failure of his health caused him to lay it aside, and he spent the next two years in recuperation. In 1880 his health appeared much better, and his retirement from active business seemed to him the appropriate opportunity for a return to his intellectual labors. Yet no sooner had he resumed them than serious illness once more assailed him, and rendered him again for four years incapable of close application. When in 1885 he

returned to his labors, it was to the *Inquisition of the Middle Ages* that he devoted himself, completing it in 1888. The book on Witchcraft was not again undertaken until shortly before his death, and it was never completed.¹

At the beginning of the period now under consideration, although he frequently stated to correspondents that he was working only moderately in order to guard against a recurrence of ill health, he was actually performing a mass of labor which, taken with his political and business activities, seems enough for any man. In 1870 he was revising *Superstition and Force* for its second edition, and rigorously following every clue which seemed to indicate the whereabouts of source material. Hearing that the Library of Trinity College in Dublin possessed valuable records of the Inquisition, he had written for permission to borrow them. On being refused, he wrote the historian Lecky, as has been related, to learn whether he could arrange to have them transcribed by a capable copyist. It was actually years before Lecky was able to secure the proper person for the work, but he wrote at once, promising to attempt to do so. Lea's interesting reply² of February 16, 1870, is revelatory of the state of his researches at that time:

"I duly received your very interesting letter of December 17. You surprise me very much in mentioning your age, for there is a maturity of thought and a wealth of reading in your books which would argue a much more advanced period in life. With so many years of activity before you (*D. V.*) I anticipate that what you have done is only a foretaste of other and greater labors yet to be per-

¹ His Ms. on Witchcraft is being arranged by Professor Arthur C. Howland for publication, if practicable.

² Correspondence, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

formed, and I confess I almost envy your future, starting as it does with so much accomplished and so much more to be done. For myself, unfortunately, at about the age of twenty-one I broke down from overwork in the attempt to combine business with study. Since then I have been able to do a little with caution, ever apprehensive of a recurrence of the very severe lesson which I have received, but much of my early education has been irretrievably lost, and I plod away under a constant sense that I must not go beyond a certain limit. As one who has been through the Valley of the Shadow of Death, let me caution you not to overwork yourself—*festina lente*.

“I received the copy of Simanca’s *Institutiones Catholicæ*. When it came, I supposed it to be from a correspondent in Florence who has a commission from me to pick up anything relating to the Inquisition, and it lay on my desk for some weeks without my examining it. When I did so, however, and saw your name on the inside, I felt sensibly touched by your thoughtful kindness. The book was on my list of *desiderata*, and on glancing through it I find much that will be of value to me. Already I have read a portion of it in preparing a new edition¹ of my *Superstition and Force* which is now in the hands of the printer.

“I owe you many thanks for your interest in endeavoring to procure for me the benefit of the Mss. in Trinity College, Dublin, and I shall probably have to be indebted to you when you visit Dublin. There is no hurry about the matter, as it will be long before I can reach the period to which I presume those Mss. refer. Not having heard from you, I spoke about the matter to Mr. Goldwin Smith, who chances to be passing some weeks in Philadelphia. He has no Dublin correspondents, but told me a few days since that he had written about it to the Librarian of the Bodleian. If this comes to nothing, as it probably will, I shall be obliged to call upon your good nature, and from

¹ Philadelphia, 1870.

your previous kindness I shall feel emboldened to do so without scruple.

"It has been a very great gratification to me to find such willingness to help me. Through the intervention of the U. S. Minister to Denmark I have the prospect of the loan of some curious old Spanish and Italian Mss. on the Inquisition, which have drifted, Heaven knows how, into the Royal Library of Copenhagen—and of which, curiously enough, I received information from a French correspondent in Pau,—a M. de Lagrèze, whom you may perhaps have met with during your visits there. Our Minister at Florence, Mr. Marsh, has interested himself to have the Tuscan archives searched for me, and this morning's mail brought me letters from Naples and Milan promising transcripts of whatever might be found interesting in those places. The most important point of all, Spain, I have not been able to effect an entrance into

"Pray, pardon this garrulous egotism into which I have been seduced by your friendship and the feeling that you can sympathize with the anxiety of a student to obtain the materials for work. . . . I have just been reading James with profound astonishment. Little as I admire the Church I could not have found it in my heart to write so bitterly about the Papacy or to present so one-sided a view of it."

Although it was nearly fifteen years before the work of transcribing the Trinity College sources could be properly undertaken, the collection at Copenhagen was nearly exhausted in 1871, and a considerable beginning made on the valuable sources in the Bodleian. Goldwin Smith, who had formerly taught at Oxford, secured in 1871 permission for Lea to have books and certain source materials sent him; upon further petition, the Faculty convocation later voted the Philadelphia historian the liberty to have any books or removable sources that he desired sent him, and

to secure transcripts of the others. Nearly 200 bundles of such transcripts from the Bodleian alone are preserved in his library.

Lea's friendship with Döllinger began in 1870, when he sent the distinguished German scholar a copy of his *Studies in Church History*. Their correspondence lasted until Döllinger's death. The latter made Lea acquainted with certain scholars in Germany likely to be able to inform him of sources, and through them, and others in turn recommended by them, he worked over the field without leaving Philadelphia. This method of correspondence and transcription was the only one which would have enabled him to cover so vast a field as he had selected. In 1871 he was in communication with Professor Paul Hinschius of Kiel, Professor Hansen of Vienna and Professor Silbernagel of Munich. He also established contacts at Halle, Bonn, and other centers in Germany. Later on, Professor Preger at Munich helped him to gain access to other German sources. In 1871, Bancroft, then U. S. Minister in Berlin, likewise presented his needs to certain German scholars.

Many important sources, as Lea knew, existed in Italian archives, and he made several attempts, at first not very successful, to secure access to them. This has been indicated in his letter to Lecky, above. Writing on the same day to Signor Francesco Cusarii of Venice, he said, "If you could help me with the Venetian and Piedmontese Mss., you would do me a service." It was not until two years had passed, however, that the materials at Venice were made properly accessible. In September, 1872, his friend, Joseph G. Rosengarten, wrote from that city, "In visiting the Archives (*R. Archivio Generale di Venezia*) I met the

Director, and speaking to him of the use you made of similar vast collections, he gave me his card for you, and said that he thought their Mss. might be of some use to you." The long correspondence which followed with the Archivist, Teodoro Toderini, brought about the beginning of the desired results in that place. Milan and Bologna had been broached in 1871. The Vatican archives, however, continued to elude Lea's efforts. It was not until 1875, when his friendship began with Pasquale Villari, later Italian Minister of Public Instruction, that success was achieved. Villari not only befriended the American in this very practical way, but he also introduced him, by correspondence, to two eminent Italians whom he later numbered among his most valuable and warmest friends, Count Ugo Balzani and Felice Tocco. The latter, Professor at the *Istituto di Studi Superiori*, Florence, was able to assist Lea in his researches in that city.

Among scholars in France, the Netherlands and Spain, Lea also made many acquaintances and several of them assisted him materially in the search for sources. In these earlier times, his most valuable correspondence was that with Professor G. B. de Lagrèze, mentioned in the letter to Lecky. This scholar, author of the *Histoire du Droit dans les Pyrénées* and *Histoire de la Navarre*, had some fruitful suggestions to make. The French archives, however, were not to be fully opened to him until later, when, besides M. Salomon Reinach of Paris and Professor Paul Frédéricq of the University of Ghent, he could seek the advice of such men as Professor Edouard Montet at Geneva and Professor Charles Molinier at Toulouse. Besides these, he numbered later among his valued correspondents in France Professor Paul Sabatier of Chantegrillet, and

in Belgium Professor Eugène Hubert of Liège. As he had told Lecky, the attempts to secure transcripts from Spanish libraries, begun in 1870, had not succeeded at that time, and it was years before the task could be resumed, but he had thus early established valuable connections in many of the former Spanish dependencies in America. Through agents in San Francisco and Mexico he was purchasing everything that became available; and he had correspondents in Mexico, Peru, Guatemala, Buenos Aires and other places, who were ransacking libraries and setting accredited persons to the task of making copies of pertinent documents. He had amazing good fortune in these matters, but he had developed, besides, an almost unerring instinct for the determination, at long range, of the value of a source. If he needed a document, wherever it might be, he usually found some way of studying it.

The methods of source reference just explained naturally suggested to his critics the question of Lea's equipment in languages. If, as certain adverse critics at one time supposed, his work was based upon English translations of sources which he had never examined in the original, his conclusions might be vitiated by idiomatic or other serious misunderstandings. This was decidedly not the case. Lea was an accomplished linguist. His first instructions to copyists were that they should never translate anything.¹ He had much of the work at Trinity College recopied² because he subsequently discovered that the copyist had not carefully observed the medieval Latin abbreviations. On the margins of his manuscripts and books

¹ Correspondence, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

² *Ibid.*

are thousands of references to untranslated sources and books in at least seven languages, and there is evidence in abundance that he read them all. Latin, Greek, French and Italian he had mastered at an early age. Spanish, Hebrew, Sanskrit, Dutch and German he studied as the occasion for their use arose. In a survey of his library made for a popular article in 1878, there was, among his 15,000 books at that time, a sufficient quantity of dictionaries and works on various languages to form a satisfactory working library for a student of comparative philology. Writing on July 27, 1875, to a copyist at Naples, he said, "Latin and Spanish are quite as familiar to me as Italian, and therefore if any of these documents are in these languages, I should prefer to have them in the original." In writing to correspondents in Italy, Spain, France or Germany, he frequently used their own tongues, and the meticulous first drafts of these letters, which he kept on file, show very few corrections due to his uncertainty of the language.

The breakdown in health of 1878 did not come without warning. In 1873 Lea had an intimation that he was so seriously overtaxing his strength as to endanger his health. He had published his first three books within four years, and had brought the earliest of them to a revised edition. The years of the civil war had been a greater strain on him than he realized, and subsequently he had been deeply involved in the work of political reform.¹ In 1871 he had accepted the Presidency of the newly-founded Philadelphia Social Science Association, and gave it close attention for the first two years. It became an important organization, and by 1885 had published more than fifty significant

¹ See Chapters V and VI.

studies. He continued his interest in local institutions. In 1871, he had accepted his election, on May 2, as a Trustee of the University of Pennsylvania, only to be forced by his health to resign, February 4, 1873. Within three months his debility had increased so considerably that he was advised to travel for his health, and he sailed, on May 22, on the "Pennsylvania," the first steamship of the new American Line, bound for London *via* Liverpool. She broke successively three blades of her propeller and did not arrive until June 4. The anxieties of the voyage naturally aggravated his condition, and the day after his arrival he received a cable message announcing the death of his mother. This made his immediate return imperative. He sailed for America after only three days in London, and without seeing any of the scholars whom he had planned to meet. The energy which had carried him through his first period of historical production was broken, and he found it necessary to reduce his research considerably. For two years he fought against this necessity, but in 1875 his health was still so uncertain that he was forced to spend four months of the winter in the West Indies. He began to reduce again his social engagements, for example, in 1876, he declined to continue as President of the Reform Club,¹ although he had greatly enjoyed the duties of that office.

However, although he proceeded more discreetly, he never abandoned his labors. Besides the research on new materials, he revised *Superstition and Force* for a third edition, which was published in 1878. Frequently there was recognition of his work from abroad, where he received

¹ The purposes of the Reform Club were chiefly social. (See pp. 189-190.) Lea continued actively to support the Municipal Reform Association, with its constructive political program.

rather more attention than his fellow-countrymen accorded him. In 1877, he received notice of his election as Corresponding Fellow of the Egyptian Institute. Once absorbed in a subject he found it difficult to restrain himself. His researches into the history of magic engaged his energies beyond the bounds of discretion. By August of 1878 he had sketched the entire book and written a first draft of four chapters. But he acquired, in doing so, a combination of strained nerves and failing sight that in the late autumn caused his physician again to prescribe a journey, and he went to Florida for two months, living most of the time in Jacksonville. He somewhat recovered his nervous energy but the condition of his eyes was little improved. For this reason, after some fruitless months spent in Philadelphia, he again attempted to seek rest in England, as he explains in a letter to Lecky,¹ July 19, 1879:

“On paying my first visit to the ‘Athenæum’ last evening, I found your kind favor of the 15th and regretted to learn that I should miss one of the pleasures which I had promised myself—that of making your personal acquaintance. It would be delightful to take up my quarters with you and devote a month to the archives of the Inquisition in Trinity College, but unfortunately for me that is impossible. I am abroad under the orders of my physician, who has prescribed two or three months absolute rest for my eyes. To a man of literary habits, failing eyesight is perhaps the severest of physical afflictions, and mine seem to be wearing out from overuse. For six months I have been able to do no work of evenings, my only time of leisure, so I have come to this land of clouds and fogs to recuperate, feeling something like an exile, except that I have brought a portion of my family with me. My rooms are engaged on a September steamer, and meanwhile I have no very definite plans, except that, for the sake of

¹ Correspondence, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

Mrs. Lea, who is a bad sailor, I shall not cross the channels, either south or west. London I find very pleasant, and if the weather shall ever change, I propose wandering lazily through England and Scotland.

"I have not abandoned the Inquisition project, but it has been laid aside in favor of another book which I originally designed as a portion of it, and which has grown to formidable independent proportions—a history of sorcery and witchcraft. This has involved an investigation into the theories of the origin of evil and the government of the universe by supernatural agencies which has led me through all the great religions of the world, and has interested me greatly more than any other line of research I have undertaken. When it will be finished, Heaven only knows, especially if my eyes play me false. . . ."

He had planned to retire from the active conduct of his business in 1880, and had looked forward to his recovery of health at this time as an opportunity for more extensive researches. In this he was disappointed, for the holiday in England apparently did little to relieve his condition. Several months after his return to Philadelphia he was invited by President Charles W. Eliot, of Harvard University, to come to Boston in May to address a dinner of Unitarians assembled from all parts of the country. President Eliot wrote, "Dr. O. W. Holmes and Dr. Bellows make the principal speeches, and I can promise you that you will be in excellent company. My wish is to present to the meeting a Unitarian author who has written books of permanent value." Lea had prudently refused in advance to subject himself to the strain; when the spring came he was in a state which he described as a "collapse." His ill health persisted for several years. On February 15, 1882, he again wrote Lecky:¹

¹ Correspondence, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

"It is so long since I have had the pleasure of hearing from you that, as I have given no sign of life, you may well have thought me dead, as, indeed, I have nearly been. To recall myself to your recollection, however, I have recently mailed you a little volume of verse, privately printed, which has served to amuse me during a good many valetudinary hours in which I have been unfitted for any serious work.

"My trip to England in '79 I suppose postponed a collapse which came the following spring, when an over-worked nervous system took its revenge for the hard usage of many years. I had just retired from business and looked forward to the literary leisure which had always been the object of my aspirations, and it was the very irony of fate to be prostrated as I was, sinking deeper and deeper for months till my friends thought I was beyond recall. As a last resource I bought a yacht and spent nearly all of last winter on the water, cruising from South America to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and returning home sufficiently restored to be able to dabble a little, but very little, in my old pursuits. I had schemes and projects on hand, partly worked out, enough to fill the rest of a busy life, but there is now little chance of their ever being carried out; and it is impossible for me to look at the piles of notes and Ms. which I had accumulated, without the melancholy conviction of the vanity of human hopes and designs. . . ."

Lecky's reply was full of sympathy for his friend, and Lea wrote further, on March 20:

"I fear that I must have given a very dolorous account of myself. It is hard, however, when one ought not to be much past the prime of life (I am only in my 57th year) to have one's long-cherished plans and projects brought to naught through the weakness of the flesh. I know that a good deal can be accomplished by steady perseverance working for an apparently short period daily,

for all that I have done has been effected in that way. My business took up all of my working day, and it was only the evenings I could give to literary pursuits—short evenings, too, caused by the state of my health forcing me to stop by half-past nine or ten.

“Whether I shall be able to labor even for a few hours daily is yet a doubtful question with me. Already I find the occasional warm days of early spring so prostrating in their effects that to escape them I have ordered my yacht made ready for use, and shall probably sail about the middle of April, returning in time to move for the summer to a seaside cottage which I have.

“I wish I could follow the example of Herbert Spencer, Prescott, and others and learn to dictate. But I have always worked with a pen in my hand, and I am too old to learn new tricks. I talked over this matter sometime since with Foster Kirke, who was Prescott’s assistant, but could not see my way clear to use other people’s eyes and hands.

“If I have been led to bore you with all this egotism, pray blame your own friendly sympathy. It has been especially gratifying to me, for I don’t mix much with literary people, and no one who has not the literary temperament and ardor can exactly understand the trials and tribulations of a career thus cut short. I have been a successful man, as the world measures success, fortunate for the most part, in all domestic and social relations, and about the last man from whom those who know me would expect a call for sympathy.”

The yachting experiences referred to in this correspondence formed one of the pleasantest interludes in Lea’s struggle to regain his health. In December, 1880, he completed the purchase of the “Stephen D. Barnes,” a schooner of over 90 tons burden, and renamed her the “Vega.” In January she was conditioned for sea, and, accompanied by two friends and a member of his family,

Lea set sail on January 11 for southern waters. On the voyage out they encountered a severe storm which opened a seam in the ship, and it became necessary to use the hand pumps to keep her afloat until they reached Bermuda. They lay at St. George, waiting for favorable weather, then until late in April they cruised about in the West Indies and the Barbadoes, returning to Philadelphia. On June 26, they again set sail, this time for New England waters and the St. Lawrence, not returning until September 28. The long rest was very beneficial to the invalid, but he found on his return that he was still unfit for arduous intellectual tasks. He felt it necessary to decline his opportunity to entertain the Saturday Club, writing to George Henry Boker the dramatist, who was then secretary, "With hardly strength enough to get through the necessary work of each day and none to spare for extra occasions, I am trying to husband my resources in the hope of avoiding the necessity of spending next winter in another cruise." The necessity, however, was not avoided, and the southern itinerary was again followed. Lea returned from the second cruise in a more vigorous condition of health than he had known for some years. The "Vega" was sold on January 1, 1884.

The "little volume of verse, privately printed," which the author had sent to Lecky, was *Translations and Other Rhymes*, with which, as he intimated to him, he had attempted to amuse himself when more strenuous occupation was denied. In this volume he recaptured much of the old enthusiasm which had actuated his earlier translation of the *Odes of Anacreon*, and he demonstrated, as well, that his ability to write graceful verse had not left him. George Henry Boker, the Philadelphia poet who wrote

Francesca da Rimini, and who, in 1864, in his *Poems of the War*, had won some attention for poems similar in subject matter to the original poems of Lea in his volume, was one of the friends to whom Lea sent the book. In his letter thanking Lea for his gift of a copy of the volume, Boker intimated that he found the best work to be the war poems which Lea had modestly denominated "other rhymes." "I am greatly moved," wrote Boker,¹ "by those poems of the War of the Rebellion which I found at the end of the volume. They aroused the old spirit within me, and carried me back to the days when I found an inspiration in the themes of which you have so musically and nobly treated."

Yet the translations are also good. As Professor Norton wrote from Harvard, "There are few pleasanter recreations for a scholar than the attempt to render a favorite poem from one language into another. I admire the ease and vigor of your versions. They well deserve to be preserved in permanent form." These translations are made from poems in five different languages: French, German, Spanish, Italian and Latin. They represent a diversity of authors, such as Thibault de Champagne, Villon, Ronsard, de Béranger, Mürger, Goethe, Schiller, Heine, Uhland, Herder, Michelangelo, Petrarch, Horace and Martial, as well as the *Romancero del Cid*. It is significant that his best translations are of the best poems. Horace's "To Torquatus" and Petrarch's "To Laura," are superlatively rendered, as are Bion's "Third Idyll" and Goethe's delicate song, "Loved One Ever Near." Of the six original poems, the best are "De Profundis," "The Nation's Trial," and "Inscription for Gettysburg."

¹ Correspondence, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

"De Profundis" has a personal significance born of Lea's own troubles in this period, with its memorable lines,

"All man can do for man
Leaves Earth in misery still."

The patriotic poems, with their stirring quality praised by Boker, are best represented in "The Nation's Trial," with its restrained passion,

"Sword of our fathers: in the sheath
Through long years hast thou idly lain.
Now with firm hand and reverent faith
We sternly draw thee forth again."

But the friends to whom Lea sent the volume saw it as an evidence of his shattered condition of health and of that vigorous energy of his mind that could not rest, even when the overworked body was incapable of supporting its intensity. Some of their letters were very interesting, as, for example, that kindly note¹ from his friend and physician, S. Weir Mitchell, himself a poet, who knew better than any one else the dark labyrinth in which the historian was enmeshed:

"I am very much pleased when I find others besides myself lounging along these holiday ways. I too have sinned. I could never translate, however. Who *was* 'the queen who threw learned Buridan?' I tried that 'Despair' (Mürger) once, but burned it. I think I heard Walt Whitman recite a powerful imitation of it. It recalls the noble verses of Macaulay where the fays refuse to endow the child, etc. It seems to me the best of your renderings. I was glad to be introduced to Walter de Mapes and his song. I like much better the original poems, however; especially the vigor and earnestness of 'The Nation's Trial' and the simplicity and force of the final verses."

¹ Correspondence, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

Mitchell understood what relief had been afforded to his patient by the exercise of writing this book, for Lea had undertaken it partly at the physician's advice, when his nerves had reached such a condition that he could not bear the ringing of the bells in St. Patrick's around the corner from his residence. To be sure, the one hundred and thirty-eight strokes that the sufferer had counted at five o'clock the previous Christmas morning were a goodly measure for the simple announcement of peace on earth, but only a very sick man would have been rendered ill for the day by listening to them. Mitchell was working very hard for the restoration of his friend's health. As he wrote, "You know I have a more than doctor's interest, and regret as a scholar and a citizen the break ill health has made in the two forms of work for which I feel grateful to you."

Slowly the physician's efforts began to tell, and his patient became visibly better. Late in 1883 he was able to revise his *Studies in Church History* for a second edition; the next year he prepared *Sacerdotal Celibacy* for a revised edition. His experience in securing publication of the latter work is merely one of many examples of the provincialism of his country at that time, as a result of which many of the greatest writers were forced to gain their fullest recognition abroad. He had proposed a new edition to Lippincotts, who had published the book on its first appearance. They had declined. Unwilling to publish it himself, because of a certain pride that he had in receiving recognition from another publisher, he proceeded only to print the new edition, offering the sheets, unbound, to Houghton Mifflin & Co., on a royalty basis. Of this book Lecky had written, as we have seen, that he thought it

"one of the most valuable works America has produced;" and Lea felt justified in writing to Henry O. Houghton, "I never desired to make money from my books, but I have a certain pride in their not *costing* me anything." But Houghton Mifflin & Co. refused to buy the edition, agreeing to publish only if Lea would pay the entire cost, including the advertising. They agreed in that case to publish and sell the work on commission. The bargain was a hard one, but Lea finally agreed to it. Weir Mitchell, knowing something of the circumstances, wrote the historian satirically on receiving his copy of the reprint, "I know well in what esteem European scholars hold you—but really—do you think you will ever be set in bronze beside Mr. ——— in the Park?"

There was a satisfaction in his returning health that nothing could diminish. On March 31, 1885, he was able for the first time in several years to play the host to his friends, and he was highly pleased. The occasion was a meeting of the Wistar Association. The next day he wrote Mitchell,¹ exultingly:

"I regretted very much not to have the pleasure of seeing you last night, not only because it would have been a gratification to see you, but because I felt a certain pride in being able to exhibit myself in a capacity in which, a couple of years ago, I never expected to appear again. I confess I looked forward with a certain amount of apprehension to the slight strain and fatigue of receiving my friends, and it is with a renewed sense of satisfaction that I find myself today but little the worse for wear. If all your patients would respond as well to your skill, I fear you would be even more overworked than you are. I almost feel inclined to presume upon my vantage-ground and preach to you on the text of 'rest'."

¹ Correspondence, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

Lea began to take a renewed interest in numerous pursuits. In October, 1884 he had become a member in the newly founded American Historical Society, of which he later became President. In the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, of which he had long been an absentee member, he became again a familiar figure. From 1890 until 1906 he was Vice-President, and Honorary Vice-President from then until his death. He also accepted a directorship in the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts.

The greatest danger lay in the temptation to overwork, when he had been so long prevented from any work at all. This he avoided by a scientific regulation of his life, and by an orderliness of routine that effectively filled up his days. He formed now the habits that he followed for the next twenty years of serene, steady work that were permitted him. Although he was sixty years of age, he seemed to have the feeling that his sentence of death had been postponed, and that with discretion he should have the time to complete the tasks that he had dreamed of accomplishing. Thus he took his place among the list of historians, like Bancroft, Ranke, and Mommsen, whose major works were the product of years beyond sixty or even beyond three-score and ten. His faculties and his energies remained undiminished, while his experience and background increased. His daily routine was well-known by his family and friends, and nothing was allowed to disturb it. After breakfast and until about eleven o'clock he remained in his study, reading and answering letters, or scanning the daily papers. Then, in any weather, he went out for a walk of from 3 to 5 miles, varying it to

avoid monotony. He always called at his former place of business for consultation with his sons and successors, which they greatly valued. He returned home for luncheon at a variable hour. Afterwards until midnight, with an interruption only for dinner, he was absorbed in his literary work. He seldom allowed anything else to interfere with this part of his routine. Such careful regulation of his life, together with his abstemious habits, his prudence in exercise, and his enormous vitality, made it possible for him to accomplish the large task which he had undertaken in his advancing years.¹ Every day in the year was time, time was life, and life was opportunity, not to be wasted. He characteristically remarked that it would be wrong to do on any day of the week what it would be wrong to do on Sunday.

His first letter to Lecky after he was reasonably sure of

¹ "His life was as different from the common run as his work was superior to the ordinary literary output. The head of an important business concern, he found no difficulty in leading a laborious life devoted to intellectual pursuits. In making himself master, and one of the world's greatest authorities, in a large field of historical research, he was continuing one of the most pleasing of English or American traditions, that of the man of wealth and business who is also a scholar or literary man of real merit and significance. Indeed, few examples of this type can rank with Mr. Lea in distinction. His *Inquisition* was justly pronounced 'a most valuable and imposing contribution to our literature,' and this result is not to be explained merely by the ability of the author, but also by the fact that for thirty years he had been engaged in constant study of its domain. It would be difficult to name any living writer who has done so much to maintain our country's rank in historical research or historical writing. One of the lessons of Mr. Lea's career is that there are still great results which can be achieved by individuals not connected with any organization for the systematic production of learning. While his interest was so largely absorbed by a subject very remote from the doings of today, Mr. Lea did not fail to bear his part as a citizen." *New York Evening Post*.

his recovery is important in explaining the condition of his researches in 1885.¹ In part, he says:

"In his own department (Dr. Mitchell) is the best man we have, and it is to his advice that I owe my restoration from the extremity of nervous exhaustion when my friends considered my case a hopeless one. For the last two years I have been improving pretty steadily, and if I can resist the daily temptation of over-work I think I can look forward to a reasonable amount of usefulness hereafter. About a year ago I found myself able to resume my studies in a moderate way, and took up the long-laid-aside subject of the Inquisition, in which I have become completely immersed. It grows frightfully on my hands. I find that I shall have to devote a couple of volumes to the old, or medieval Inquisition, to be followed by a couple more on the Spanish Holy Office and post-Reformation times. I have just finished the first volume and with a year of continued health, hope to accomplish the second.

"I have been surprised to find how much new light I have obtained on the institution in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries from the inedited Ms. material which I have been collecting for so many years, and how utterly worthless, with one single exception, are all the histories which have been written in all the modern languages on the subject. I want my book to be the final one, and, with the wealth of material in my hands it ought to be so, if I can avoid being buried under a multiplicity of detail. Forgive my prolixity of egotism but after years of enforced idleness it is such a joy to be at work again that I cannot well help bubbling over.

"I have always rather grudged your desertion of the Middle Ages for modern times. The former are so little understood, and you had done such good work in elucidating them that I had hoped you would keep in the field in which you won your spurs. When the present task is

¹ Correspondence, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania, Lea to Lecky, March 10, 1885.

accomplished, I still trust that you will return to the old region and throw a little more of your electric light into its dark corners."

In Lea's absorption in historical research he had made it his recreation as well as his vocation. A new manuscript, a new book in his field, served him better for amusement than the more usual social pleasures served other people. The newly revived Wistar Association became almost his only regular social contact. This Association was a descendant of the most distinguished Philadelphia ancestry. The American Philosophical Society, founded in 1769, was the result of the union of two earlier organizations, both begun by Benjamin Franklin. These were the Junto, a literary society, founded in 1727, and the Philosophical Society, founded in 1743. The American Philosophical Society had been presided over by Franklin, Rittenhouse and Jefferson, but no one of its members ever lent it more distinction than Dr. Caspar Wistar, who, after many years as Vice-president, became President in 1815. By force of his personality, and the genius he possessed for drawing about him the fellowship of distinguished men, Wistar had developed, from the Philosophical Society, a sort of inner circle of great interest. These men met together at his house, and invited distinguished visitors from all over the world to meet with them, until the so-called "Wistar Parties" became internationally famous as the very temple of good conversation. Upon the death of Wistar in 1818, the Wistar Party, of twenty-four members, was formed to perpetuate his memory. At the time of the civil war, the Wistar Party, like so many other social institutions, was abandoned, but in 1871 was founded the Saturday Club, limited to fifty members, with

a nucleus of former members of the Wistar Party, and with similar aims. As has before been stated, Lea early became a member of this group. In 1884 he felt that a reorganization was advisable, and the Saturday Club became the Fortnightly Club, with Lea as a very active member. In 1885, it was suggested to reorganize again, duplicating as much as possible the old Wistar Party, in successorship to the two surviving members of that group, Moncure Robinson and Isaac Lea, who had been the last Dean of the Wistar Party, and was now in his ninety-fifth year. The result was the Wistar Association, founded in 1886, with Henry Charles Lea as Dean, a post that he occupied until his death.¹

Even after his recovery of health, Lea's fugitive writings and magazine articles were not so many as one might at first expect to find. Of book reviewing he did a considerable amount, for it kept him in touch with the latest publications in his field, but he conserved time by refusing to review a book that he would not otherwise have read. He wrote magazine articles infrequently, both because he refused to take the time from his chief work, and because the subject of his central interest was so controversial that the editors were often afraid of it. "Your article," wrote *Lippincott's Magazine*, frankly, in return-

¹ "For sixty-seven years father and son held the position of Dean, the chiefs around whom and their associates gathered, on Saturday evenings during the winter season, much of the intellectual, professional, scientific and cultured society in our community, as well as the distinguished travellers, men of letters and learning, and other worthy celebrities who visited our city. Mr. Lea's interest and zeal in the Association were great and constant, as in all his pursuits in life." Rawle, Colonel William B.: "Abstract of Meeting of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania," March 13, 1911. Reprinted from the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, April, 1911.

ing it, "is an excellent one, of course, and it is with regret that we return it. But we are simply disinclined to offend our Catholic readers, as any reference to the Spanish Inquisition would certainly do."¹ Lea so frequently met this reaction that he refrained from writing any unsolicited work for other magazines than the historical reviews. As a reviewer, however, his name appears with increasing frequency after 1885. W. P. Garrison, editor of the *Nation*, would have sent him more books than he could read, had not Lea refused them. Thomas Bailey Aldrich, then editor of the *Atlantic*, turned to Lea more successfully than had Howells, his predecessor, who had written when Lea's health would not stand the burden. Mandell Creighton, later Canon, and finally Bishop of London, in 1886, inaugurated a correspondence with Lea, and later in the year, upon visiting Philadelphia, began a warm friendship by visiting him at his home. Bishop Creighton, who had been Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Cambridge, was then editor of the *English Historical Review*. He urged Lea to send him articles, with the result that many of the Philadelphian's most important fugitive studies were first printed in the pages of the *Review*. Later the *American Historical Review* received its share. With the appearance of his first volume of the *Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, in 1887, Lea was greeted with a veritable hail of requests from abroad to become American correspondent for scholarly publications in his field. These requests he refused on the ground that his

¹ The policy of this magazine subsequently changed, witness its publication of an article that might well have been open to the same objection: "An Antimasonic Mystification," *Lippincott's Magazine*, 1900, 60, 948-960.

time was too limited, except for that of the *Archivio Veneto*, with which, for a short time, he corresponded as reviewer.

In 1887, then, we may regard Lea as having at last reached the period of major production toward which he had so long striven against frustration. His first great work, *A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, was well launched, and much of the material for *The Inquisition of Spain* was in his hands, and was shaping itself to its ultimate form. After so many postponements, he was to have a long period of fulfillment, and to complete all but one of the many tasks which he had hoped to accomplish.

CHAPTER V

MUNICIPAL POLITICS

It has been shown¹ that from 1857 until 1887, when the first volume of his *Inquisition* was published, Henry Charles Lea was steadily widening his knowledge of his chosen field of history and winning that mastery of his subject which is evident to the student. Little has been said, however, of another interest which engaged much of his time. From 1870 on, until his advancing age rendered such activity unwise, he was prominent in various movements for political reform. For many years he was the accepted leader in Philadelphia of the successive organizations which devoted themselves to the improvement of municipal, state and national politics, and in this field he rendered a devoted service which deserves recognition. Political work was not his choice. He was drawn into it by much the same forces as had caused him to devote himself to the active service of his country during the civil war.² The joint demands of business and scholarship were more than enough to fill his days and nights, and he was jealous of every moment of his limited time for study and writing. But although he was strongly drawn on the one side by the scholar's ardor for the task which he had set as the objective of a life-time, he was on the other hand influenced by an exceptional sense of civic responsibility. He hated evil and corruption in public life, and could not refuse to perform great tasks in the

¹ Chapter IV.

² See Chapter III.

struggle to exterminate it, or to accept the duties of leadership when they fell naturally upon his shoulders.

The war had left in its wake a host of evils, but there were many abuses in municipal and national life which had been taking root long before that time. The "spoils system" and patronage had led quite naturally to the so-called "boss" régime in politics. During the years of national danger, when the most loyal and patriotic leaders were engrossed in the task of saving the nation from disintegration, corrupt local politicians, already intrenched before the war, were able to build up almost impregnable "machines" to control local patronage and elections. The intricate ramifications of these corrupt political combinations extended deep into the structure of Federal politics and vitiated almost every activity of the Government. The abuse of the civil service, the political control of Federal appointments, and the corruption of the ballot completed the work of confusion. In Philadelphia the political passions and prejudices engendered by the civil war were nearly unconquerable. It was regarded as disreputable and even unpatriotic to support any but the Republican candidates and policies, so great was the fear of Democratic victory and the possibility of the return of southern influences in government. This spirit is typified by the oft-quoted remark of a prominent Philadelphian of that period that he would vote for the Devil if he was the Republican candidate. "Ring" politicians were quick to turn this situation to their advantage by capturing the control of the local Republican organization. Thus it came about in time that to attack corruption in Philadelphia was to attack the Republican party, and to court ostracism.

For this Lea, of course, cared nothing. He was fearless and of independent means, and the occasional personal attacks which were the result of his efforts fell harmlessly upon a life and reputation so spotless and so obviously devoted to ideals of abstract justice. With the scholar's joy in investigation, when his efforts were directed against any abuse he studied it to the root, and his subsequent attack became the more effective. Although he always deplored the diversion of his time and energy from scholarly research, he derived pleasure from his excursions into political reforms. He enjoyed his own telling blows. He said that when he hit a man he "liked to hear him squeal," but he never hit without cause, and he kept himself so free from political entanglements that his purity of motive could never be doubted nor his freedom of action hampered by personal considerations.

In 1870, Lea assisted in founding in Philadelphia the Citizens' Municipal Reform Association, and for many years he was its leader. It was the first organized attempt to combat political corruption in America subsequent to the war, and became the leader among the many similar groups which sprang up. Thenceforth for thirty years Lea gave to this important work far more of his time and energy than he could willingly spare from historical research. During this period he was prominently identified with most of the important political battles which occurred in Pennsylvania. All the while, of course, his historical studies went on, for he was engaged upon the enormous task of preparation necessary to the writing of his histories of the Inquisition. In local as in national affairs he never sought but rather avoided political office, devoting his energies, his time and his means to what he

considered the ends of justice and human progress. He made no display of his connection with important movements, but his private correspondence clearly indicates how close was his association with them. Where frequently he appeared as merely one of a group, he was actually the leader; many public utterances signed simply by a committee are the work of his brain and his pen. The full story will never be told, because much of the evidence of his work was destroyed by his own hands.

However, many Philadelphians knew these things without documentary evidence. Writing soon after Lea's death, in his column "Men and Things" in the *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin* for October 26, 1909, "Penn"¹ said:

"He was one of the very earliest, as he was also for many years one of the most persistent, of the race of local reformers that began to take up the problems of municipal government after the close of the civil war. In fact, his friends used sometimes to refer to him good-humoredly as 'the original mugwump' in Philadelphia. But the quality of a partisan was always foreign to his temperament; and he could not reconcile fidelity to his party on local issues when he believed that it was mismanaged for selfish or corrupt purposes, or would not rise to the high ideals which he cherished in the improvement of local government. At that time it was not so easy to be a reformer in the Republican ranks as it long afterwards became, for the Democratic party was numerically almost as strong as the Republicans in this city, and sometimes stronger, and movements or propositions for municipal reform were always decried on the ground that they would play into the hands of the Democrats, and that the Democrats were not in sym-

¹ William Perrine.

pathy with the ultimate results of the civil war. A reformer was consequently often called a 'copperhead' or 'traitor' by the Republican regulars; and the species was quite limited in number at that time."

Of such a condition as this the "bosses" and their "machines" knew how to take the utmost advantage, and within a few years after the war their power, always strong in Philadelphia, had made it the outstanding American example of political corruption. Years later, in writing his chapter on "Philadelphia" in *The American Commonwealth*,¹ Viscount James Bryce was working partly from materials supplied him by Lea, who was long his friend. Bryce described the plight of the city as follows:

"During the Civil War the best citizens were busily absorbed in its great issues, and both then and for some time after, welcomed all the help that could be given to their party by any men who knew how to organize the voters and bring them up to the polls; while at the same time their keen interest in national questions made them inattentive to municipal affairs. Accordingly the local control and management of the party fell into the hands of obscure citizens, men who had their own ends to serve, their own fortunes to make, but who were valuable to their party because they kept it in power through their assiduous work among the lower class of voters. These local leaders formed combinations with party managers in the State legislature, and with a clique managed from Washington by a well-known senatorial family, which for a long time controlled the Pennsylvania vote in Republican national conventions and in Congress. Since they commanded the city vote, both these sets of politicians were obliged to conciliate them; while the commercial interests of Philadelphia in the maintenance of a protective tariff pressed so strongly on the minds of her merchants

¹ *The American Commonwealth*, 1889, vol. II, 354 ff.

and manufacturers as to make them unwilling to weaken the Republican party in either State or city by any quarrel with those who commanded the bulk of its heavy vote."

As time went on, the hold of politicians upon the city was strengthened by their control of the Gas Trust and its patronage. Originally appointed to administer the gas works as a city trust, this small group soon became the stronghold of local political corruption, and made its power felt even in national issues. As a matter of fact, Lea's keen interest in municipal reform was first awakened by the appalling conditions which he discovered in 1866, when he was made a member of a citizens' committee appointed with authority of the City Councils to investigate the administration of the gas works in Philadelphia. The facts which he then discovered formed a part of the data which he later put into the hands of Bryce as materials for the chapter on Philadelphia. Bryce says:¹

"The center of their power was the Gas Trust, administered by trustees, one of whom, by his superior activity and intelligence, secured the command of the whole party machinery, and reached the high position of recognized Boss of Philadelphia. This gentleman, Mr. James McManes, having gained influence among the humbler voters, was appointed one of the Gas Trustees, and soon managed to bring the whole of that department under his control. It employed (I was told) about two thousand persons, received large sums, and gave out large contracts. Appointing his friends and dependents to the chief places under the Trust, and requiring them to fill the ranks of its ordinary workmen with persons on whom they could rely, the Boss acquired the control of a considerable number of votes and of a large annual revenue.

¹ *The American Commonwealth*, 1889, vol. II, 355, ff.

He and his confederates then purchased a controlling interest in the principal horse-car company of the city whereby they became masters of a large number of additional voters. All these voters were of course expected to act as 'workers,' *i. e.*, they occupied themselves with the party organization of the city, they knew the meanest streets and those who dwelt therein, they attended and swayed the primaries, and when election came round, they canvassed and brought up the voters. Their power, therefore, went far beyond their mere voting strength, for a hundred energetic workers meant at least a thousand votes. With so much strength behind them, the Gas Ring, and Mr. McManes at its head, became not merely indispensable to the Republican party in the city, but in fact its chief.¹ . . . Nearly all the municipal offices were held by their nominees . . . They managed the nomination of members of the State legislature. Even the Federal officials in the custom house and post office were forced into a dependent alliance with them . . . Mr. McManes was careful to fill the city councils with his nominees, and to keep them in good humor by a share of whatever spoil there might be, and still more by a share of the patronage."

In 1866 the committee on which Lea served recommended that the city abolish the Trust and take over the gas works, but the courts then decided that the Trust had been so constituted that it could not legally be disturbed until 1885. Every attack subsequently launched against it was met with this defense, and the independent voters and their organization were driven to the difficult expedient of fighting organized corruption at the polls. The financial power of the "ring" made the task enormous. The organization supported against many attacks

¹ Until the "Australian Ballot" was adopted in 1891, the judge of elections, always a "gang" spy, could see the ballot of every voter.

the old "fee system," under which so many city offices were paid by fees and not by salary. A generous proportion of these huge fees went to augment the party coffers. In one year, five offices aggregated a net income from fees of \$223,000. A single officer, Collector of Delinquent Taxes, received, on the average, \$200,000 each year.

Against such odds as these the various reform movements with which Lea was associated fought for many years, with more success than might have been expected. To turn out corrupt officials by election proved difficult because of their excellent party machinery, their control of the election count, their wealth, their command of salaries and fees, and their ready supply of new candidates, equally corrupt, to replace those whose activities transgressed the bounds of discretion. Court action became almost hopeless when the ring ruled the courts; peculations in city departments were skilfully hidden in secret accounts; and City Councils were so fully controlled that to demand an audit was useless. From the State legislature little was to be hoped, because it in turn was largely controlled by the same vicious influences. Yet progress in reform, although slow, was steady. Finally, when the expiration of the Gas Trust in 1885 permitted the sweeping reorganization contemplated by the Bullitt Bill, the power of the "ring" was broken by the Committee of One Hundred, of which Lea was an active member. When James McManes died, in 1899, he left a fortune of \$2,500,000.

The Citizens' Municipal Reform Association, as has been said, was formed in 1870 to offset the power of the "ring" and to nominate for local offices candidates of integrity and independence who would be likely to com-

mand the respect and the support of independent voters of all parties. Its chief activities spanned the period from 1871 to 1878, but it was father to several succeeding organizations: the Committee of One Hundred, the Committee of Forty, and others; and its principles have been carried forward by men who received their earliest political inspiration under the influence of its leaders. From 1870 until the end of the century almost the same group of devoted men found their places in successive organizations attempting to combat the political evils which had made the city notorious. But the work of reform was far more difficult than the work of corruption. The machine was well-organized, covering every precinct, with almost every city worker, down to the humblest, available for political work. On the other hand, the reformers were few, possessed of no comparable organization, and forced to perform their political services in their leisure moments, or in time taken from the ordinary conduct of their professions or business. The machine workers were fighting for their political lives or their positions; the reformers were supporting an abstract principle of justice. The coffers of the organization were swelled by continuous assessments on the salaries of the many workers whose positions it controlled, ultimately the taxpayers' money; the Reform Association had no resources but the voluntary contributions of its members. The machine, with its many "job-holders" for workers, had only to conduct its own election; the reformers, few in number, had besides to watch closely the tactics of their opponents in order to detect and prevent ballot frauds. The leaders of the reform movement had individually to perform all the drudgery of the election: to investigate nominees for office,

large or small; to print and distribute ballots at the polls; to find watchers to verify the count and report instances of fraud. Lea once referred to the enormous labor he performed in a single election, when it fell to him to assemble all the names for the ballots, varying in each precinct. He handprinted them all for clearness of copy for the type-setter, read the proof, and saw them through the press. In one election, after so much labor, all the reform ballots were stolen on the eve of election and dumped into the Schuylkill. Such work and such opponents were enough to deter any group of men without great courage and an overpowering sense of duty. Since elections were then between private parties, subterfuges, if detected, were hard to punish. One of the greatest accomplishments of the Reform Association, a vast reform in itself, was the effecting of such a change in the conduct of elections as made them a function of the municipal government, and brought abuses in their administration under the jurisdiction of the courts.

The immediate cause of the founding of the Reform Association was the Public Buildings Act of 1870. By the provisions of this act, the Public Buildings Commission in charge of the new city hall structure was reconstituted, cut out of cloth to the measure of McManes, who wished to control the patronage and the profits of that venture as well as of all other fruitful political enterprises in Philadelphia. It was made a self-perpetuating body, with power to increase or change its membership by appointment, to make a levy on the citizens for its expenditures, and to spend the money practically without supervision. In a single day McManes piloted this bill through both houses of the State legislature without even having it

printed. In March of 1871, a citizens' mass meeting in Philadelphia, addressed by Lea and other prominent Philadelphians, appointed a committee of protest, which went to Harrisburg to attempt to repeal the Act in the Democratic Senate. But the Republican House refused the repeal and sustained the Act.

The high feelings aroused by this episode led the leaders of the Independents to effect a formal organization determined to fight McManes and his party. Clinton Rogers Woodruff later wrote in an article:¹

"We were being most frightfully robbed and misgoverned. To demonstrate this was the work the Reform Association set itself to accomplish. Its active and animating spirit was Henry C. Lea, the distinguished historian, who with a faithful few worked along most laboriously, no detail escaping their attention. The association made war against the fee system, and determined if possible to secure the separation of municipal and national elections and to institute a reform in the registry system. All three of these important reforms were successfully effected, and numerous minor ones. It exercised considerable influence over the constitutional convention of 1873; and did yeoman service in assisting in the election of Robert E. Pattison to the City Controllorship, thus saving the city thousands of dollars by reason of the vigorous scrutiny he gave to every item of expenditure. It sowed the seeds which blossomed into the Committee of One Hundred, and opened the way for subsequent work."

For six years Lea was either President or Vice-President of the Reform Association, and during that period served also as chairman of the executive committee. In this capacity he assisted greatly in raising funds to carry on

¹ "The Progress of Municipal Reform in Philadelphia," *Harper's Weekly*, October 27, 1894.

the work, and was primarily responsible for formulating policies and putting them into effective practice. He was in large measure the voice of the Association, writing most of its public utterances. Besides the numerous ephemeral letters, circulars, and the publications indicated by references in his letters to documents which cannot now be found, there survive nearly one hundred important articles from his pen on political issues after 1870. "Penn," in the article previously cited,¹ says further:

"Mr. Lea, the head of this organization, was also its foremost literary champion. The circulars, the pamphlets, and the 'open letters' which he communicated to the newspapers, not only during its active existence but on many other occasions for the next thirty years or more, on municipal reform, have probably been exceeded by those of no other private citizen during that period. They were effective in providing reformers with a line of reasoning, for their author was strong as a critic or as a formulator of criticism."

The Reform Association turned its attention first to the education of the electorate, and then, as opportunities offered, to specific pieces of political work. For the first eighteen months it published almost every week a four page paper called *The Right Way*, which Lea edited. It sought to turn public attention to criticism of municipal taxation and public expenditures, to evil conditions in the Water Bureau, the Department of Health, the Bureau of Highways, and the Tax Office. Lea wrote on several of these subjects. In 1871 he sent numerous letters to the papers protesting against the condition of the streets, where "the annual spring upturning of the cobble-stones by the frost seems to us just about as familiar as the

¹ See p. 178, and footnote.

turning out of a crop of potatoes by the plow in autumn." This he thought inconsistent with the huge taxes paid by Philadelphia property owners. In his pamphlet, *Municipal Taxation*, December, 1871, he showed by careful analysis that in that year, while the city's population was only one-fifth larger than that of 1860, its expenses had increased three-fold, its taxation five-fold, and its indebtedness ten-fold. He proposed that the Reform Association make civic economy an issue in the next election.

Wherever the Association was able to expose a specific case of fraud, it did so. Lea discovered in 1872 that a McManes councilman of the 15th ward had accepted a bribe to influence the letting of a contract for work on the Fairmount Bridge. The councilman was seeking reelection, and the exposure by the Association nearly defeated him; only the influence of his "boss" pulled him through. Effective assistance was rendered candidates of whom the Association approved. For example, it supported Colonel A. K. McClure, founder of the *Times*, in his independent battle to succeed George McConnell, deceased State Senator, who had been a member of the McManes organization. Suspecting that the "Ring" would resort to its familiar ballot frauds, the Association petitioned the Board of Aldermen to be permitted to endorse one of the three registrars at every polling place, but it was of course refused. The Association then made the effort to educate the honest voters, and distributed thousands of copies of the circular of warning, "Citizens, be Vigilant," written by Lea. Evidence of fraud at the polls was not hard to secure; fraudulent practice was in fact so general that the Independents believed that they would have won in an honest election. Vigorous efforts to

bring charges against "repeaters" and fraudulent registrars resulted, in the "gang"-controlled courts, in only one conviction, and the offender was pardoned in a few weeks. Lea's satirical pamphlet, *The Pardon of James Brown*, convincingly set forth all the evidence and demonstrated the political chicanery of the times.¹ This was the beginning of that long battle for the reform of the ballot which has slowly won its way up to the present. Its first impulse came through the efforts of the Citizens' Municipal Reform Association.

He was led by the excitement of these battles to assume once more the pen of the satiric poet. In September, 1872, he published in pamphlet form, unsigned, his *Songs for the Politicians*, seven poems in eight pages. They are witty, bitter and effective. "The Straight Ticket" begins:

Come, freemen, come—your country calls;
 Rise up, or be forever thralls.
 By all the memories of the past
 Throw off the sloth that binds you fast.
 Down-trodden nations eager wait
 To see you vote the ticket straight!

"The Dirge of the Ring," in eight stanzas, was an indictment and a prophecy:

Who swell our tax-bills more and more,
 Encroaching on the poor man's store,
 Till want stands threatening at his door?
 Our Ringsters!

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Who, when the people have their will,
 Shall earn an honest living still,
 By making shoes in Cherry Hill?²
 Our Ringsters!

¹ See McClure, A. K.: *Old Time Notes of Pennsylvania*, Chapters LXXVII, LXXIX, LXXX.

² Cherry Hill was the State penitentiary.

"The Respectable Man" and "The Educated Hog" are satires of middle-class respectability, driven by conformity or self interest to vote a straight organization ticket. There are other satires here of various "Ring" types: the subsidized councilman, the hired thug who intimidates the voters at the polls, the time-serving, turncoat politician, and the like; lastly there is the "Lament of the Tax-payer," who always loses, no matter who else wins.

The conventional feeling in Philadelphia after the war that it was not quite respectable to vote any but a Republican ticket was based, of course, on the war-engendered distrust of the loyalty of northern Democrats and on the fear of the Copperheads. More importantly, after the war it was fomented by the commercial influences that feared Democratic reduction of tariffs. It was to offset this feeling that the Reform Club was founded in 1872. A group of men was called together by Lea at his home to organize a private club which should meet in every way the best standards, both in appointments and selection of members, but should be composed entirely of men who had the cause of political reform at heart and were willing to take independent action to secure it. The social standing of the group was assured by the nucleus who founded it: men like John J. Ridgway, Charles Wheeler, Henry B. Tatham, Samuel Dickson, William P. Jenks, Anthony J. Drexel, George W. Childs, J. B. Lippincott, Joseph Harrison, John Welsh and others. They charttered as clubhouse the old Florence mansion, on Chestnut Street above Fifteenth (now 1520), since replaced with another building. It was well-equipped with club-rooms, restaurant, library, wine-rooms, and a ball room. In the second year the club had a membership of 972, and a

budget of \$63,500. It survived many years, and was a strong influence for reform in politics. For four years Lea was its President.

It has already been said that the Citizens' Municipal Reform Association was partly instrumental in bringing about the new Pennsylvania Constitution of 1874, particularly in so far as that document determined the organization of the city. This was a subject close to Lea's heart, and he became active in its settlement. The movement which led the Legislature to authorize a constitutional convention in 1871 was begun with a memorial written by Lea at the request of the Association, in which attention was strongly directed to existing municipal abuses and the need for action. This was signed by several hundred citizens of such prominence that it gave decided impetus to the project, which had been smouldering at Harrisburg, and the convention at last became a fact. At the height of the deliberations another memorial, also the work of Lea's pen, was adopted by the Association, January 13, 1873, citing the specific abuses in Philadelphia politics and showing the necessary constitutional remedies. The following abuses were especially criticized: the abrogation of the right of popular government by the domination of the "bosses" in local and State affairs, which should be corrected by purification of the ballot; the tyranny and inefficiency of the aldermen, who should be replaced by a minor judiciary composed of men of higher caliber; the decay of the grand jury system, which should be abolished; the fee system, which was the greatest corrupter of public officials, and should be replaced with a salary system. Some measures of correction were attempted in the new Constitution; but that the result was

still far from satisfactory is shown by Lea's open letter "To the Chairman of the State Commission on Municipal Government," January 4, 1877. In this, Lea urged the centralization of power in a Mayor who should be really responsible as an executive; the appointment of a civil service commission under a merit system to destroy the evils of the "spoils system;" and the abolition of the Gas Trust, the focus of local corruption. All of these changes were at last accomplished. But not even the sweeping reforms of 1885 were sufficient to prevent selfish politicians from finding means to defeat the real objectives of the reformers.

In 1874 the Reform Association cut straight to the heart of all Philadelphia's political ills by conducting a thorough investigation of the operation of the gas works under the Gas Trust. In January, the Trust, which was charging the highest price for gas, and consuming besides nearly \$750,000 in loan funds each year, again petitioned for a new loan of \$1,000,000. The known fact that the gas business of Paris, France, returned to that city a revenue of over 5,500,000 francs per year was in itself sufficient proof that a great abuse was being fostered in Philadelphia; and the Reform Association appointed Lea, as chairman of the executive committee, to make an exhaustive analysis of the situation. He gave almost all his time for months to the problem. His difficulties were increased by the fact that the real records of the Gas Trust were kept secretly, that no means existed legally to open its books, and that the published reports were patently and admittedly falsified. From January until June, the chairman of the Reform Association made three exhaustive reports, the result of investigation and study which made

him an expert in the gas business. By extensive correspondence in America and abroad he assembled a mass of data on costs, organization, quality of product, use of by-products, cost to consumers, and profits, that left very little ground beneath the feet of the Gas Trust. His *Third Report*, in June, 1874, contained a summary of the evidence which the Trust had admitted or been unable to answer, leaving little doubt as to the deplorable state of affairs. Only the most spectacular portions of his findings need be given here. The Trust had admitted that all of its sessions were held in secret; that its accounts were never audited by others than officers of the Trust; and that it selected the persons to be invited to bid for contracts, never advertising for proposals or publishing the bids. It had admitted that it paid for raw materials, especially coal, a sum greatly in excess of that paid by rival cities less favorably situated. It had admitted that it cost \$1.80 per 1000 feet to manufacture Philadelphia gas, while the Northern Liberties Gas Company, an independent local concern, could sell gas to the city at \$1.15, and could afford to supply gas at the street lamps at one-half the sum charged by the Trust; that, in fact, the Trust frequently bought gas and services of the Northern Liberties company at a price that allowed a 20 per cent profit on resale to the city. It was likewise admitted that the New York company lighted the street lamps at a cost to the city of only three-fifths the cost charged to Philadelphia; and that in general, the Trust ought to realize from its contract with the city a profit of \$200,000 per year instead of incurring the yearly deficit stated. The Trust was unable to refute evidence that it allowed to remain in the gas injurious impurities, like ammonia,

which could have been converted into revenue, and that it manufactured no gas whatever pure enough to pass the ordinary test applied in London. The Trust openly admitted that appointments to its service were in general of a political character. Lastly, the Trust had been unable to disprove that its monopoly was of such a character that private enterprise could have made a handsome profit by assuming all of its indebtedness, paying a capital investment of \$9,000,000 to the city, and still be in a position to protect the interests of the consumer.

These reports, with their devastating logical analysis of a complicated business, gave Lea the satisfaction of work well done, in spite of the months of his time that they had consumed; and it pleased him to find that experts saw in them the hand of another expert, and found no flaw in them from a business point of view. The author received letters of approbation from utilities engineers and specialists all over the country. His file of such matters is crammed with praise from persons who had given years of study to the subject. One of the leading engineers in the business, J. R. Smedburg, of the San Francisco Gas Light Company, wrote only a typical letter when he said, among other things, "I have pleasure in saying that your report is a nearly perfect one. You have every reason to be satisfied with the searching cut you have administered to a very tangled skein."

In Philadelphia the work was taken with great seriousness by the Independents, but ignored by the trustees, who knew themselves to be securely intrenched by law in their position for eleven years to come, and were too self-centered to heed the approaching doom. But when the matter came to a head, in 1885, this early work of Lea was

not to be lost. He had struck the most telling blow ever delivered for the cause of reform in his city. The Reform Club, on November 19, 1874, tendered him a testimonial dinner in recognition of his work, and almost every prominent liberal and independent in Philadelphia joined in appreciation. His place as leader of the movement was assured for as long as he cared to maintain it.

Besides the survey of the Gas Trust in 1874, Lea led the successful effort of the Reform Association to prevent the Councils of Philadelphia, inspired by the "Ring," from securing from the State Legislature the power to increase the debt of Philadelphia by \$5,500,000, and to float a loan of this amount. He secured the backing of the Reform Association in an appeal to Governor Hartranft, and he wrote as an Executive Committee Report his pamphlet, *Facts for the People*, which was widely circulated. He agreed with his opponents as to the need for improvements in Philadelphia: that the water was undrinkable, the gas poor, the roads and streets impassable, the schools unhygienic, the sewers inadequate, the police and fire protection insufficient, and the poor-houses and prisons over-crowded. But he turned the argument cleverly against the politicians by showing that these conditions were the result of improper diversion of annual income from taxation, and that no improvement was to be hoped for from the increase of permanent indebtedness while the same corrupt officials retained the power to waste or steal the money.

It was in this same year that the Reform Association attacked another problem on which Lea had written often and powerfully. One fruitful source of political corruption lay in the local political control of the city passenger railways in Philadelphia. The Reform Association sponsored

a bill in the Legislature, prepared by Lea, looking toward State control of this public utility. The measure failed at that juncture, but it started a continuous agitation which led at last to the formation of the Pennsylvania Public Service Commission, with power to afford a remedy.

Later, in 1876, the Reform Association took issue against the passenger railway companies in another important matter. The office of Attorney General having become vacant, Governor Hartranft had appointed a successor. Attorney General Lear found on taking office that his first duty, as an independent and honest officer, was to render a decision against the Continental Passenger Railway of Philadelphia, which had applied for a franchise giving it complete and politically supported control of Philadelphia streets for years to come. The company openly boasted that Lear would not be confirmed in the Senate as a result of his action. Seeing the danger, the Reform Association sent a committee to Harrisburg in support of Lear, and Lea wrote a memorial to the Senate which had much to do with the ultimate confirmation of the Governor's appointment. In the same year the Reform Association, by a practical political coup, succeeded in defeating the organization candidate, Rowan, for the important and powerful office of Sheriff, by throwing its support to the Democratic candidate after having split the organization strength by the nomination of the Independent Republican, General Baxter, who then withdrew with an indorsement of the Democrat, Wright. Letters among the Lea collection show that this experiment in practical politics was the idea of the chairman of the Reform Association.

In 1878 the work of the Reform Association came to

an end. One reason at least was the failing health of the chairman, who at that time was prevented by illness from giving further attention to politics. In 1879 his condition became so critical that he was forced to leave the country for several months in an effort to recuperate. He purchased a yacht, and, as already told, accompanied by his physician and two friends, cruised to the West Indies, then spent the summer in New England waters.¹ The organization in 1880 of the Committee of One Hundred found him interested, but unwilling to subject himself to the strain of directing its activities. For several years he remained a member of the executive committee, with Joshua L. Baily and Rudolph Blankenburg, and his advice and experience were continuously sought in the formulation of the policies of that influential committee.

The immediate cause for the formation of the Committee of One Hundred was the surprising reelection in 1880 of a Democrat, Robert E. Pattison, later Governor, to the office of City Controller. His first election, in 1877, had been won with the help of the Reform Association, which supported him against the "Ring" candidate. In 1880, although the Republicans carried the State as a result of the "landslide" for Garfield, the "bosses" in Philadelphia, who had centered their efforts on the defeat of Pattison as Controller, were overwhelmed as a public protest against the corruption recently revealed in a sweeping article on the Philadelphia Gas Trust published in a New York newspaper. This evidence of Independent strength so encouraged the remnant of the old Reform Association, that E. Dunbar Lockwood convened a committee of one hundred leading citizens of Independent

¹ See Chapter IV, p. 162.

sympathies to put in nomination at coming elections a slate of local officers who should have at heart the best interests of the City. Thus began a movement which continued with increasing success until 1886, when the passage of the Bullitt Bill assured the end of the Gas Trust and a new régime in city politics.

In the mayoralty election of 1881 the Committee of One Hundred was again successful, and Lea, in spite of his ill health, took a leading part in the battle. The "Ring" supported the reëlection of William S. Stokley, who had been their willing instrument. Failing to find a suitable Republican candidate, the Committee of One Hundred supported the Democratic nominee, Samuel G. King, who was independent in sympathies. The other important office being contested was that of the Receiver of Taxes. For this office the Democrats had nominated a gangster. The independent Democrats and the independent Republicans united in the support of the independent Republican, John Hunter. The two Independents, one a Democrat, the other a Republican, were elected against the "gangs" of both parties. It was the beginning of the end for the old gas ring, and the culmination of the success of those forces which had been put into motion eight years before by Lea and his friends. This alliance of the Independents of both parties was not successful in the attempt to elect the State officers, largely because of the time-worn argument of the politicians that such a victory might influence the next senatorial contest and weaken the support of the Republican party in national politics. But the contest attracted national attention, and Lea's memorials and letters condemning the "Ring" were widely recopied.

For several years Lea's uncertain health rendered his

political efforts occasional, although the correspondence from 1881 to 1886 reveals his keen interest in all reform political movements and his participation from time to time in some matter that especially engaged his sympathies. In 1883 he instituted a taxpayer's suit against the City Councils to bring about an adequate appropriation for the reconditioning of the water works, which had been so neglected in recent years as to menace the public health. In this he was successful and the appropriation was made. In the same year he demonstrated his influence with the Committee of One Hundred when his threatened resignation won its support of John J. Ridgway for City Council. In the same election he presided at a mass meeting held in Horticultural Hall to gain popular support of the Committee's independent candidates for District Attorney and City Controller. In 1883 also, the Committee of One Hundred introduced in the State Legislature a bill, written by Lea, seeking the further reform of the City charter. It was at that time buried in committee by the influence of James McManes, but in 1885, when strife between McManes and Quay weakened the influence of both politicians, this reform bill was revived and became the basis of important reforms in the government of the City. At this time Quay was running for the office of State Treasurer, and the Philadelphia Independents centered their efforts on his defeat. Although he won the election, the Independents were encouraged to continue their reform work by the fact that they had reduced his majority by more than one-half. In this election Lea wrote a large proportion of the propaganda circulated to influence the independent voters. In the same year he conducted in the press an attack against the growing

monopoly of the Pennsylvania Railroad, which he believed had established discriminatory tariffs against the port of Philadelphia, and which was now obviously seeking to prevent competition by influencing the City against the petition of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad to acquire a right of way and terminal facilities in Philadelphia. The Pennsylvania was unsuccessful in this effort, but in another, in which it was joined by the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad, and strongly opposed by a group of citizens of whom Lea was most active, the railroads ultimately succeeded. This was the plan to construct elevated approaches to the heart of the City, thereby inevitably occasioning severe economic loss to individual property owners, and blighting the whole adjacent region. Lea insisted, in addresses at public meetings and in numerous articles, that the permanent method of making such approaches should be underground. Fifty years later the Pennsylvania Railroad is proving Lea's foresight and wisdom by removing its elevated approaches and rebuilding its tracks under the surface. At the time the railroads won the right to undertake the cheaper method.

It was in 1885 that the central problem in Philadelphia politics, corruption connected with the Gas Trust, again reared its head, and involved Lea in a political battle which for a time engaged his entire attention. A court decision had ruled that it was legally impossible to disturb the Gas Trust until the retirement of the last bonds issued under the authority of that body. These had matured early in 1885, when the Quay and McManes forces were engaged in a private war, and the Independents had just shown their strength in a local election. Because of his previous research into the problem, Lea was perhaps

the best-informed private citizen in Philadelphia. At a public mass meeting he accepted appointment as chairman of a Citizens' Committee to study the future of the gas works. From the beginning Lea advocated a course of the wisdom of which he had years before been convinced. This involved the complete removal of the gas works from a political position by lease to a private corporation. This view, with convincing arguments, he presented in an able pamphlet: *The Gas Works: What Should Be Done With Them*, dated May 6, 1885, and widely circulated at his own expense. However, he strongly opposed the Hammitt bill, which contemplated the lease on terms which he believed would involve great loss to the city and assure to the bidding company a price much higher than that charged by other successful private manufacturers. The ultimate compromise was embodied in the Bullitt bill, which in 1886 transferred the gas works to the management of a Bureau of Gas under the direction of the Department of Public Works. It was eleven years before the inadequacies of that arrangement brought the City Council to see the wisdom of Lea's suggestion. The gas works, in 1897, were leased to the United Gas Improvement Company.

The fact that the recognition of Lea's agency in the important municipal changes taking place in Philadelphia was more than local, is indicated in a letter addressed to him, June 25, 1886, by L. T. Metcalf, Editor of *The Forum*. Metcalf wrote: "I wish to publish in *The Forum* a series of municipal reform articles to be addressed in turn to the principal cities of the country, and to be entitled, "A Letter to the People of New York," "A Letter to the People of Philadelphia," etc.; the tone to be kindly, but

the exposure of abuses to be mercilessly severe. Rev. Dr. E. E. Hale will address Boston, Chancellor Crosby, New York; and I beg to ask if you cannot consent to prepare the epistle to Philadelphia." Lea's "A Letter to the People of Philadelphia," published in *The Forum* early in the following year, analyzed the evils of the past, and stressed the need to hold fast the advantages recently won. At about the same time he became interested in the new developments in the theory of insurance, which he approved for their social advantages. He wrote in 1887 a popular article explaining the advantages of insurance, entitled, "The Policy of Insurance," published in *Lippincott's Magazine*. Two years later, at the urgency of Henry O. Houghton, the publisher, he helped to organize the Prudential Fire Insurance Company of Philadelphia, coöperating with a Boston company in which Houghton was influential.

It was not until 1890 that there arose another local political issue of sufficient magnitude to draw the scholar again from his books. This time it was the attempt of the Quay "gang" to elect their candidate as Governor. The term of General Beaver as Governor (1886-1890) was drawing to a close. For his successor, Quay supported State Senator Delamater, who had been consistently friendly to the Standard Oil Company in its political activities. Both Delamater and Quay had recently been accused of fraud and had remained silent under the charges. The Independents, to defeat what they considered an evil combination, united in the Republican primaries in the effort to nominate for Governor Adjutant General Hastings, whose effective relief of devastated Johnstown had brought him prominently into the public eye. Quay dominated the

primaries, however, and the Democratic Independents could not be brought to the support of General Hastings. Delamater accordingly became the Republican nominee. The hopes of the Democrats were centered on Robert E. Pattison, who had been elected Governor on a Democratic-Independent ticket in 1882, when he had defeated General Beaver during a temporary confusion of the Quay forces. His term of office had increased his reputation as a man of sterling integrity and great ability. However, in 1886, a rally among the cohorts of Quay had brought about the election of General Beaver. In 1890, Pattison seemed the predestined person to gain the support of all Democrats and of Independents of both parties, but he had declared that he would not become a candidate. It was Lea who persuaded him to reconsider the decision, thus paving the way to the success of the Independents, and insuring the Commonwealth four years of good government. This is conclusively shown by a letter from Pattison to Lea, written a decade later,¹ in which he declared: "I have said to others, and I now write to you, that it was largely through your persuasion that I consented to become a candidate for Governor in 1890. You will remember that in your call at my place of business, I said that I thought that I had contributed sufficient of my time and service, but in your appeal for the fulfillment of obligations which you felt I was under to the Independents, I consented again to become a candidate. You know the result. I simply state this to recall the influence which you exerted at that time." All of the Pennsylvania Independents rallied in support of Pattison, and Wharton Barker man-

¹ July 31, 1901. Correspondence, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

aged the election. To guard against the possibility of election frauds a Pennsylvania Ballot Reform Association was organized, with Lea as Vice-President (and chief contributor), to pay watchers at the polls and prosecute offenders. Lea wrote several of the widely disseminated circulars and articles supporting Pattison. Their effectiveness is indicated by Barker's letter to Lea of July 8: "I wish you would write an open letter to the Republicans of Pennsylvania. A letter from you at this time will be of great use. Governor Pattison called here today and asked me to urge you to write. He feels that he can be elected, but that he needs all the Republican support he can get." Among the various open letters and circulars which Lea prepared at this time one was especially courageous. In this letter he repeated the charges of corruption which had been made against Quay and Delamater, and challenged them, if his assertions were false, to sue him for slander. They jeopardized their cause by a necessary silence in the matter, and thus greatly assisted in the election of Pattison. A curious sequel to this battle occurred the next year. To continue the drive against "Quayism," there was formed in 1891 an Anti-Quay League, of which Lea was Vice-President. John Bardsley, City Treasurer, and a Quay follower, had been convicted of defalcation and imprisoned, and this became the focal point of the Independents' attack in an effort to elect independent men to the offices of Auditor General and Treasurer of Pennsylvania. But Quay suddenly acquired a new virtue, cleverly created the illusion that he had been responsible for the exposure of Bardsley, and nominated for the two offices to be filled men of such unsullied reputations that they were elected on their own merits.

However, in forcing the organization Republicans of Pennsylvania to elect honest men to office the Independents had unexpectedly won a victory in losing the election. The significance of this was discussed in an article by Lea requested by Horace E. Scudder, Editor of *The Atlantic Monthly*, published by him under the caption, "Lea on the Pennsylvania Election."

Although in the next few years Lea appeared frequently in print on public subjects, such as municipal government, civil service reform, improvement of the water works or gas works, prevention of fraud in connection with the Philadelphia public buildings, and the like, no major battle among local politicians seriously engaged his attention until 1898, when Quay supported Representative William A. Stone for Governor. The Independents put in nomination Dr. Silas C. Swallow, and Lea conducted his usual written campaign; but the strength of the Democratic candidate so drew independents of that party as to weaken Swallow's support, and the Republican, Stone, was elected. The administration of Stone was so marked by irregularities inspired by Quay that Lea again plunged into local politics in an attempt to defeat Quay's gubernatorial candidate in 1902. This time it was Judge Pennypacker, against whom Lea had no grievance save that he was practically the appointee of Quay and as such would be likely to serve Quay rather than the people. But the wily Pennsylvania Senator, then under indictment for fraud, and denied his seat in the Senate pending the outcome of his trial, had counted safely on the spotless reputation of his candidate, and the efforts of the Independents to elect the Democratic ticket proved fruitless.

This was Lea's last activity in local politics. In spite of

his remarkable vitality, he began to see that he must husband both time and strength if he would finish the historical work that he had planned to do. In 1903 he resigned from the Board of Managers of the Library Company of Philadelphia, with which he had been associated for many years. Nothing but an extremity would have led him to sever this connection. Lea wrote to Clinton Rogers Woodruff, when he attempted to secure coöperation in a certain political project, "I am too old for work, and am definitely on the retired list." Yet the Independents in Philadelphia were not willing to dispense with his name; and when in 1904 the death of Quay made possible a concerted drive to upset finally the old régime, and the reform Lincoln Party resulted, one finds him mentioned among the Vice-Presidents, and his contribution of \$5000 noted in the account book of the party. Again in 1909, the year of his death, when the Committee of Seventy was engaged in its fight against the contractor-politicians, Vare and McNichol, the name of Lea appears among the Vice-Presidents.

The size and frequency of his contributions to the work of political reform, entirely apart from his many private benevolences, indicates that Lea was a person of great generosity as well as ample means. By patient hard work during his business career as publisher, and by careful husbandry and well-considered investment, he had accumulated a fortune. He felt within himself the capacity for amassing wealth by speculation, but weighing it against scholarship he chose the latter as his life interest, and invested conservatively, thus reserving his time and attention as far as possible for study. Regarding wealth as a social responsibility he kept his capital as profitably em-

ployed as possible. For instance, when in years after the civil war the rate of interest had fallen and had continued to decline until the return from safe bonds was too small to render them attractive, Lea, considering the possibilities of investment in real estate, became convinced that well-selected properties would pay more in rentals and appreciation than he could hope to gain otherwise. In studying the principles of selection Lea became much interested in the problem. As has been said it had long been his custom to take his daily exercise by walking about the center of the city. He began during his walks to study the fluctuations in real estate values, deducing the principle that the number of people passing any given point would be a logical index to its relative value.

With this in mind he began to dispose of stocks and bonds and purchase real estate. He remarked to a member of his family that "it took courage" to make a change like this in the business habits of a lifetime, a simple statement that from him meant much. But he bought judiciously, after careful consideration, and with such success that he became in time one of the largest owners of real estate in Philadelphia. Many of his properties he cleared and improved with new buildings, some of them very large. He would never give his name to any one of them. It was characteristic of him that he enjoyed these business dealings, demanding, as they did, careful judgment. But he limited their demands as much as possible to time set apart in the mornings, keeping his afternoons and evenings free for study and writing. When his real estate increased to such proportions as to threaten his leisure, he organized a separate office with assistants to relieve him of the details. There he appeared daily, at the end of his morning

rambles, to give his directions. Though he made a change of this sort in his investments he was too good a business man to be rigidly bound by it. He watched carefully conditions in both the real estate and financial markets. When some years later he saw signs of an approaching decline in rentals and increase in the returns from stocks and bonds, he began to dispose of his real estate and invest again in securities; later again, when conditions reversed themselves, he made the change back to real estate. His tastes were not speculative; to him appreciation of property was the return on wise selection. He sold as carefully as he bought. When on several occasions he sold properties at a good profit to purchasers who subsequently resold them for more, he was surprised that people should suppose that he was sorry he had not himself asked a higher price. He had named a sum which allowed him the profit he had expected, he was satisfied to receive it, and glad that the purchaser had likewise profited.

Yet in spite of his increasing wealth he remained the most simple of men in his own life. His tastes were modest, almost frugal, and the chief external signs of his wealth were the well-chosen works of art which he acquired. He confined his pleasures in acquisition to these and to the manuscripts, books and rarities with which he was storing his library. In food and drink he was most abstemious, and used to remark that no delicacy was worth five minutes of subsequent discomfort. For him wealth involved responsibilities that were very serious, and his own judgment of others was based on this criterion. It was a characteristic expression of his own principles, therefore, which he made in his letter to George W. Childs on the death of Anthony J. Drexel: "I am

not much given to sorrowing over the inevitable, but I cannot let the death of Mr. Drexel pass without expressing to you my sense of the loss which we all have experienced. I have no special reverence for wealth, and many of the conspicuous fortunes of the country I regard as monuments of shame for the possessors, but in Mr. Drexel's case wealth was only an accident which gave his virtues an appropriate field of action. It was the individual whom we all esteemed, and we respected not his fortune but the wise use he made of it. We shall miss the cool, clear brain, the unshrinking courage and the unwavering prudence with which he has exerted so wholesome an influence to uphold public confidence and check disaster. I suppose that after all no one man is indispensable to the world, but it is not easy at the moment to look around and determine who there is to take his place. We know how difficult it is for rich men to enter the Kingdom of Heaven, but in his case we may feel sure that riches are no impediment."

The careful husbandry of his wealth and the benevolent use of it were constant purposes in Lea's life. It would be highly improper, in speaking of one who constantly went out of his way to conceal his benevolences, to dwell on these matters; but one cannot well ignore the mass of correspondence in his files which reveals his continuous generosity, and his sympathy for needy persons and institutions. Besides his gifts to many individuals, to archæologists and scholars in financing expeditions or special studies, to impoverished clergymen who wrote him as a result of his books, to social workers in his own city, and the like, he chiefly contributed to hospitals, libraries, schools and research work. In many cases these gifts

were surprisingly large, even when one considers his ample resources. The nature of his publishing business had made him aware of the needs of the hospitals. One finds evidence of considerable gifts, at various times, to eight hospitals in Philadelphia, and in the case of some, like Jefferson and the University of Pennsylvania Hospitals, not merely one, but several large gifts. From 1893 until his death he became the chief benefactor of the Pennsylvania Epileptic Hospital and Colony Farm at Oakbourne, being impressed by the pathetic misfortune of such sufferers. He contributed the large sum originally needed for its grounds and buildings, and subsequently added substantially to its endowment fund from year to year. To libraries he was almost equally sympathetic. Eight local libraries and museums periodically became his beneficiaries, and to one, the Library Company of Philadelphia, which he hoped, from its central location, might become the leading library in Philadelphia, he gave, in 1888, a new building which doubled its capacity.

With the needs of the University of Pennsylvania, in its period of great expansion, he was continuously sympathetic. The Library and the Museum received his financial aid; and whenever Provost Pepper, or later, Provost Harrison, had any projects or urgent needs, they could be sure of assistance from the aging scholar, who was a warm friend of each man. It was generally the kind of quiet giving that leaves no monument: contributions toward current expenses, or professors' salaries, or last year's deficit. Once, however, Lea's gifts influenced the entire course of medical education in America through its effect upon the Medical School of the University of Pennsylvania. As a publisher of medical books Lea had long been interested in the developments in the new science

of hygiene and public health, with its influence on the control of transmissible diseases. When he was approached by his physician, S. Weir Mitchell, with Provost Pepper's vision of a Laboratory of Hygiene at the University of Pennsylvania, he offered to supply a fully equipped building for the purpose, on certain conditions. Provost Pepper and Lea both felt that the university courses in medicine then given in the United States were insufficient in scope and could be greatly improved by being made four years in duration. In order to stimulate the gifts of others to bring about this result at the University of Pennsylvania, the donor therefore made his gift of a laboratory of hygiene conditional on the raising of an additional fund sufficient to inaugurate the four-year course in medicine with required courses in hygiene. The money was raised, and the building dedicated on February 22; 1892, when the new four-year course in medicine was announced, the first in the country to be adopted. The work in hygiene also had an important independent development. In 1912 the University of Pennsylvania granted for the first time in America the degree of Doctor of Public Hygiene; in 1919 the Lea Laboratory of Hygiene became the first separate school of hygiene in the country, maintaining, of course, its departmental relationship to the University of Pennsylvania.

It was gifts of this sort that influenced the benevolence of others, or led to tangible growth in the future, that Lea liked best to make, and made most often and most freely. Certainly when one considers his leadership in finance, politics and benevolence in his city over more than a half century, there were few whose influence was more constructive. All of this, of course, was outside his life as a scholar.

CHAPTER VI

NATIONAL POLITICS

THE participation of Henry Charles Lea in the political life of his native city has been described in the preceding chapter. It was very natural that his keen interest in such matters should have led him to participate in national political issues as well. From the civil war until the end of the century, although he never held a public office, he was actively associated with many of the leading movements in national politics. In spite of the large part of his time given to scholarship, and the activity which he maintained in local and financial affairs, he was nationally known for many years as a man to be seriously reckoned with for his influence with the Independent thought of Philadelphia and New York. He was consulted on matters of appointments and the like by the political leaders of the country: by Grant, Arthur, Cleveland, Harrison, McKinley and Roosevelt in turn; and by members of their respective cabinets on various occasions.¹ In the election of one of them he participated effectively, and he wrote on the leading political issues which their respective party platforms presented. He supported Hayes, and he worked hard for the nomination of Garfield when a less desirable group within the Republican party threatened to nominate Grant for a third term. Because of his intense suspicion of the motives of Blaine, he became a leader of the "Mugwumps," whose revolt

¹ Correspondence, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

against their party in 1884 elected Cleveland. In 1888 he supported Harrison against Cleveland, whose civil service appointments he had deemed corrupt, and he continued the support of Harrison in 1892 when the latter was defeated by Cleveland. Against Bryan and Bryanism he waged a bitter fight in 1896, playing no small part in the success of McKinley.

During all this time he was devoting his pen to great political and social objectives: the development of a strong policy of Protection, which he believed a first essential; the reform of the civil service by the abolition of "bossism" and its major weapon, patronage; the defeat of the various plans proposed for taxing income, which he regarded as capital levies; the establishment of such a system of international copyright as would protect both native and foreign authors and at the same time afford the proper measure of protection to the interests of the book manufacturers and the workmen employed by them; the development of the ideal of international arbitration, and similar reforms. As a historian he could not but believe that history had its lesson to teach in respect to any present national question, and he was constantly emphasizing that point of view in his political papers. It was for this reason that politicians frequently called him academic, yet it was precisely because he was basing his opinion on a foundation much broader than the exigencies of the moment that his political writing was so wise. Some of his best papers are thus "academic." All of his writing on the subject of negro slavery was animated by his historical knowledge of the pernicious past of slavery in human history; his "Indian Policy of Spain," a very influential article, used the object-lesson of Spain as a

warning to the United States in her own relations with the Indians; his article at the outbreak of the Spanish War, "The Decadence of Spain," showed the roots of the trouble in a long historical perspective which he hoped would prove salutary to his own countrymen; "The Dead Hand," written when the United States took over the Philippines, emphasized from Spanish history the dangers of ecclesiastical land-holdings, and from the same source showed some of the dangers which the United States would inevitably encounter in its relations with the Philippines.

In a short autobiographical note which he prepared late in life at the request of a newspaper, Lea emphasized his work as chairman of the executive committee of the Industrial League, an organization devoted to the interests of Protection. He said, "The existence of the League is now forgotten, but in its time it performed work of no little value in maintaining and directing the policy of protectionism to which is so largely due the subsequent rapid development of the resources of the country." Of the intensity of his conviction on this subject there can be no doubt, since it motivated most of his political activities. At the formation of the Industrial League in 1871, Lea, representing the book industry, became a member of the executive committee, with such other prominent industrial leaders as William Sellers for iron, Joseph Wharton for other metals, and J. G. Fell for coal. Morton McMichael became the first chairman, and Cyrus Elder was the secretary. Lea became chairman in 1881. Although for years the League was forced to employ political measures to secure the sort of tariff levies that it desired, its policies from the beginning stressed the fact

that the tariff was not a political but a scientific question. It was not until 1881, the first year of Lea's chairmanship, that, partly because of the influence of the League, President Arthur appointed a non-political commission to study tariff revision. The commission was not a success, but it afforded the first instance in our history of an effort to solve the problem by such methods. The League also exercised a political influence in other questions related to industrial welfare. In 1878, when there were two bills in the House for the revival of an income tax, which had been levied originally as a war measure, the League commissioned Lea to prepare a memorial on the subject and to secure the most prominent signatures procurable all over the country. Lea's memorial pointed out that any income tax at that time would constitute a local discrimination against the industrial North and East by the agricultural South and Southwest. As he showed, by way of example, the tax paid in that year by the entire state of Missouri would not have equalled one-half that paid by a single Pennsylvania district. By an enormous amount of correspondence, Lea secured the signatures of the leading industrial leaders of the country, and the failure of the bills at that time must be in large measure laid to his energy.

However, it appears that his intense sympathy with the industrial interests was never sufficient to divert Lea from the main course of his political effort, which was directed to the defeat of local "bosses" and their patronage system. In the complicated battle between Hayes and Tilden in 1876, although he voted for Hayes, he refused for local considerations to take more active part. Carl Schurz, then Secretary of the Interior, and later a leader

in the "Mugwump" revolt for Cleveland in 1884, had invited him to a preliminary conference of Republicans to be held before the primaries to determine the principles which should govern the choice of candidates. Lea declined the invitation, and later refused membership on three national committees because of his activity as a Philadelphia Independent against the local Republican organization at that time. At this juncture he was leading an organized Independent offensive against the Philadelphia Gas Trust and the corruption which it fostered, and he did not wish to lessen the effectiveness of his work toward that end by a smaller participation in a national issue.

As the end of Hayes' term drew near, the Republicans, feeling certain that he could not be reëlected began to look about for the best candidate. As usual, Lea was much concerned in these pre-convention discussions, and was in correspondence with several political leaders. Learning that Hayes himself would be in Philadelphia on December 26, 1879, he wrote Secretary Schurz, inviting the President to stay with him in Philadelphia, and to talk about the political prospect. Schurz replied that Hayes had already accepted the invitation of John Welsh to stay with him, but added "The President will be glad to see you while at Philadelphia." The conference, which took place at Welsh's home, dealt largely with Lea's fear that the party would make the mistake of nominating Grant for a third term in 1880. Grant had just completed a kind of triumphal tour of the world, culminating, appropriately enough, in a dinner at the Union League of Philadelphia. This climax had been arranged by Senator Simon Cameron, who, with Quay and McManes as sup-

porters, suggested that Grant should be nominated on the Republican ticket at the approaching convention in Chicago.

This, to men of Lea's convictions, seemed a major calamity to be prevented at all costs, since it certainly would have alienated all of the Independents, chagrined as they were at the memory of the maladministration of Grant's second term, and his high-handed use of his power of patronage. Independent sentiment for reform of the civil service was growing rapidly; indeed, one of the strongest objections to nominating Hayes for an additional term was the dissatisfaction with his administration in this respect. With Dorman B. Eaton, a member of the Civil Service Commission, who had been chairman of that body under Grant, Lea had held a lengthy correspondence to learn the real truth of Grant's conduct of appointments. Eaton, long a friend of Lea, had written a book on the British Civil Service which showed his views to be thoroughly progressive. Lea was therefore willing to give entire credence to his unfavorable estimate of Grant.¹ Neither Hayes nor Grant seemed a desirable candidate.

He therefore entered earnestly into the project of some of his independent friends in Philadelphia to found the National Republican League, pledged to secure the nomination of a Republican candidate of unblemished reputation, who would not be dominated by the politicians, and who would not abuse the power of the civil service. Its specific opposition to Grant, although his name was not used, was shown in its promise to attempt "to defeat the third term project." The letter which announced its foundation, dated February 25, 1880, is signed by William

¹ Correspondence, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

Rotch Wister, chairman, and Hampton L. Carson, secretary, of the executive committee, and such other prominent men of the committee as Wayne MacVeagh, Joseph G. Rosengarten, Charles Wheeler, Wharton Barker, Samuel W. Pennypacker, and others, including Lea. Although the history of this organization has never been recorded, Lea was its most active member. His files of correspondence clearly indicate the importance of his connection with the enterprise. Hampton L. Carson wrote him, in a letter dated March 22, 1880, "You are looked upon as the founder of our League." Not only was it his energy that brought it about, it was also largely his contributions which financed it and his pen that wrote its publications.¹ Its three most important documents, all of enormous influence in swinging the Convention away from Grant, exist in first drafts in his own careful handwriting in his files. They are *An Address to the Republicans of Pennsylvania*, which gave the voters a history of the third term movement, and a statement of the reasons why Grant should not become a candidate; *The Third Term*, with its more extended account of Grant's relations with the corrupt political groups and his abuse of the appointing power given to the President by the Civil Service Act of 1871; and *A Memorial to the Delegates of the Republican State Convention of Pennsylvania*, which was a last and successful attempt to keep the powerful Pennsylvania group solidly against Grant's candidacy.

The League at once exercised a national influence, and for this Lea was also largely responsible. He was tireless in correspondence with the Independent leaders of New York and Massachusetts, who followed his example, with

¹ Correspondence, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

the result that the three States were well able to dominate the Convention. In New York, George William Curtis, and in Boston, Henry O. Houghton and Charles Eliot Norton, all leading Independents, were his chief correspondents.¹ His counsel carried weight in those cities. When the New York League, led by Whiteridge, was showing temporary lack of decision, Hampton L. Carson wrote Lea, "If your strength will permit, could you not address a letter to the New Yorkers? A word from you would be of great value." By correspondence Lea arranged a preliminary conference of the Independent and anti-Grant groups of Philadelphia, New York and Boston. Norton, who was the most active Boston leader, was ready to forsake the party altogether if an improper nomination were made. "It seems to me,"² he wrote Lea, "a far less evil that there should be a Democratic administration for four years, than that there should be a corrupt Republican administration. Nothing short of a declaration from old and well-known Republicans that they will not vote for Grant or Blaine, in case either of them is nominated at Chicago, will have any effect on the managers of the machine." Lea was inclined to agree with him; indeed, at the very next election, in 1884, he proved his independence of mere party affiliation by voting for Cleveland.

Lea's pamphlet, *The Third Term*, previously mentioned, found wide currency. It was copied in whole or in part by many newspapers throughout the country; it was distributed in large numbers by independent organizations in New York, Boston and Chicago. In Philadelphia it led to an incident which revealed perhaps better than any

¹ Correspondence, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

² Ibid.

other his personal courage. In one passage in the pamphlet, Lea very properly attributed the corruption of the civil service to the influence of various selfish politicians, who maintained their positions largely by dictating Presidential appointees. These politicians he characterized as "men not distinguished for any public service, but strong in the arts of the demagogue," and he named "Shepherd in Washington, Tweed and Kelly in New York, McManes in Philadelphia, and, in a larger field of action, Senators Cameron, Conkling, and, perhaps, Logan." James McManes, who took exception to being named beside "Boss" Tweed, then serving a jail sentence, had been informed that E. Dunbar Lockwood, a member with Lea on the executive committee of the National Republican League, was author of the tract. Meeting Lockwood at the Union League McManes threatened him with violence as the author of the article, and in spite of his denial, struck him a blow in the face. They were separated by other members, but McManes threatened that he would horse-whip Lockwood the next day.¹ Lockwood, of course, did not disclose the name of the author of the passage to which McManes objected, but at once wrote Lea a note warning him to protect himself. Instead, Lea instantly dispatched a letter to the irate politician. Describing the passage which had caused the attack on Lockwood, Lea wrote,² "I lose no time in informing you that I am the author of it. . . . It is no part of our intention to go out of our way to wound personal feelings; but while deprecating any attack upon individuals as such, we avow uncompromising opposition to the 'boss'

¹ Philadelphia newspapers, April 11, 1880.

² Correspondence, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

system in politics, believing it to be the fertile source of the most serious public danger. . . . I really supposed that in instancing you as the most conspicuous example of the system here, your friends would regard it as an admission of your political capacity, extorted from an opponent. . . . If, however, you will assure me that my belief was erroneous, and that you neither possess nor aspire to any such commanding position, I will gladly correct the error into which I have fallen as publicly as I have expressed it." Although McManes had threatened a law-suit against Lockwood, as well as chastisement, Lea's letter was the end of the episode.

The work of the League was instrumental in securing in Philadelphia an Independent delegation to the Convention. Lea was chosen a member, but because of illness was unable to go, and chose his young colleague, Hampton L. Carson, then beginning his legal and political life, to take his place. On returning to Philadelphia, Carson reported in a letter,¹ "I think that our delegation did much effective work at Chicago in the way of impressing delegates that Grant's nomination would render Pennsylvania a doubtful state. . . . I trust that a few hours will give us the news so desired by all, and thank you for your consideration in this business." Garfield was nominated, and later elected.

Garfield's letter of acceptance of the nomination left doubt in the minds of the Independents in respect to the uppermost question in their minds, his intentions regarding reform of the civil service. Among other things he had implied that he would accept the advice of Congressmen

¹ Correspondence, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

about appointments, which was virtually what Grant had done. After conference with E. L. Godkin, editor of the *Evening Post* and the *Nation*, Lea wrote Garfield for a statement of his position. Garfield's reply¹ was phrased in the language of diplomacy, and fell back upon a reference to his former speeches and "the moral force of the country" which "should be brought to bear upon Congress to make reform permanent." This was once again ambiguous, but Godkin replied, when Lea sent him the letter with a puzzled comment, "I cannot help hoping that, unlike Hayes, he will be better than his letter. He probably fully thinks to be of service to civil service reform, but has got to be elected, and is wishing to be a little ambiguous for this purpose." Garfield's sincerity was never tested, since he was assassinated within a few months. However, his early appointments seemed to indicate that he was not able to withstand the pressure of the spoilsmen.

Lea became a member of the Civil Service Reform Association, founded in 1880. This grew in time to be a national organization and was largely responsible for the improvement of civil service appointments over many years. He was almost immediately elected Vice-President of the organization, with Wayne MacVeagh as President. Later Lea became President. After the assassination of Garfield, President Arthur made little effort to prevent the raid which was at once made upon public office. The work of the Civil Service Reform Association was therefore redoubled, and plans were at once laid to make the reform of appointments a principal issue in the next election, and to pledge the Independents to the support only of a can-

¹ Correspondence, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania, July 23, 1880.

didate who would promise to make it effective. This, of course, was the beginning of that movement which led at last to a schism in the Republican ranks at the so-called "Mugwump election" of 1884, and to the election of the Democrat, Cleveland.

Lea's first blast as President of the Association was his admirable pamphlet, *How Shall the Spoils System be Abolished*, in which he advocated two remedies: the defeat of the "boss system" by the united efforts of Independents, and the abolition of the evils of patronage by the introduction of the merit system in Federal appointments. Originally printed in the *Penn Monthly* for March, 1882, it was widely distributed in pamphlet form by Independent organizations throughout the country, and became a campaign paper of the Democrats in 1884. George William Curtis, who with Carl Schurz became the leader of the New York "Mugwumps," wrote Lea at the first publication of this essay, "I think that the chief practical obstruction is suggested in your paper. It is the apprehension of the Republicans that a serious policy of reform would bring in the Democrats, and most Republicans regard a Democratic restoration more direful than a spoils carnival." Neither Lea nor Curtis had at that time, however, any thought beyond securing the proper Republican candidate for the next election. Indeed, when Blaine was first mentioned in 1882 as a Republican possibility, Lea, feeling that he would be in every way unacceptable to Independents, wrote Curtis to determine what they, as Republicans, should do. A third party seemed impracticable, since, as Curtis replied, "The Democrats profess to desire reform of the civil service in our sense, . . . and until they prove that they do not, a third party

movement would be premature." To defeat the movement to nominate Blaine seemed, therefore, the only way.

In the preliminary Republican conferences in Philadelphia and New York, Lea was as usual active. He attended one in April, 1882, another in November, and a third, most important, in February, 1884. The Pendleton Act of 1883 was the beginning of the merit system, but, since it affected only about 12 per cent of the office-holders, Lea greatly desired the enlargement of its application, and on this point Blaine remained apathetic. It gradually became clear to Lea that it was useless to expect reform from the Republicans at that time, and he refused to attend the pre-nomination dinner in Brooklyn, in February, 1884, saying, "If the Republican Party is merely to become an instrument by which ambitious and self-seeking men are to obtain, under false pretences, control over the distribution of spoils, the sooner the party disbands, the better."

Such was the evolution of thought which led Lea to the step which caused him to be more severely criticized than anything else in his stormy political life. He became chairman, in 1884, of the Philadelphia "Committee of Republicans and Independents," pledged to secure the support of local Republicans and Independents for Cleveland and the Democratic platform, which promised the needed reforms. These rebelling voters were the Philadelphia "Mugwumps," who were only a little less influential than those of New York, led by Curtis and Schurz. The opposition was, of course, directed no more against the platform of the Republicans than against their candidate, James G. Blaine, whose record made him an object of suspicion to men of Lea's political principles. Joseph W. Harper had

written in reply to Lea's query¹ as to where the influence of *Harper's Weekly* would be thrown, "Should the Democrats have the sense to grasp the opportunity and nominate a good man on an unobjectionable platform (which, as you say, is perhaps too much to hope for the Democrats), then, independent Republicans might properly urge his election. The *Weekly*, of course, cannot support Blaine."

As chairman of the Philadelphia group, Lea wrote a considerable proportion of the argument against Blaine, which was largely placed in the newspapers. The most important tract was his "Address to Republicans and Independents," occasioned by an anonymous paper under the same title, which stated that the Independents would support Blaine or any other Republican in preference to any Democrat whomsoever, on the basis of the necessity for maintaining a high tariff. The paper had the appearance of an authentic statement of the Philadelphia Independents, but really emanated, of course, from Republican headquarters. To offset its influence, Lea, in his tract, gave the reasons, categorically, why the Independents could not support Blaine, and pointed out the compromise tariff provisions of the Democratic platform, which in his estimation made it safe for the industrial interests. His reply caused a great stir and formed the target for a vitriolic series of attacks upon the views of the Independents. This was led by Edward McPherson, Republican national chairman, and former editor of the *Philadelphia Press*, who indulged in heated personalities launched against Lea. To all these Lea replied with his usual coolness, equanimity and reasoned judgment, and thus main-

¹ Correspondence, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

tained the better of the argument. The epithet "turncoat" had no terrors for him.

It was really fear of "tariff tinkering" that made the Philadelphia revolt less effective than that in New York. Lincoln L. Eyre, secretary of the Philadelphia group, wrote Lea, who was in Cape May for the summer, "The feeling in Philadelphia is one of conservatism so excessive that it almost touches the limit of cowardice. . . . 'We don't like it any better than you,' they say, 'but we cannot aid the Democratic party directly or indirectly.'" As a result, while Cleveland won a small majority in New York, he polled 30,000 less than Blaine in Philadelphia; while, by contrast, the Independent municipal battle in Philadelphia to elect the Democrat-Independent, Colonel Robert Dechert, as Controller, succeeded by a decided majority, to the chagrin of the machine politicians.

Before the first year of Cleveland's term had expired, however, it became clear to many, that so far as the reform of the civil service was concerned, he would prove a disappointment to his Independent supporters. In spite of his election pledge that appointees would be removed "only for cause," he permitted an almost wholesale replacement of Republican office-holders by Democrats. One important instance of this was the dismissal of General Henry S. Huidekoper, who had been for years the Postmaster of Philadelphia, and was known to be an efficient and faithful officer. Since in view of Cleveland's pledges, the removal seemed to imply a personal criticism, the Postmaster's friends, including Lea, attempted to have him retained, but they were not successful. When it was announced that District Attorney Valentine was to receive similar treatment, Lea publicly expressed himself in sev-

eral articles as opposed to the President's policy, and disappointed by it. In December, 1885, his pamphlet, *The Legislative and Executive Departments*, which was widely quoted, again advocated the merit system, and stated the belief that steps must be taken to relieve the President of pressure from legislators in the making of appointments. This view Lea developed further in an open letter to the *Nation* advocating a law to make it a misdemeanor for a Congressman or Senator to solicit patronage. This principle he embodied in a law which he drew up with the best legal advice, and presented through his friend, Senator Jonathan Chace, of Rhode Island, who also later introduced the bill on international copyright drawn up by Lea. As was expected, the patronage bill failed in the session of Congress in 1886.

From the foundation of the Industrial League, Lea had been the member of the board in charge of the work of protecting the book trade, and he had developed a keen interest in such questions as the tariff on foreign-made books, the extension of international copyright, and related matters. His position was unique, for he was at once an author of books, a scholar in need of many books printed abroad, a publisher of books, and a bookseller. Although he never manufactured or bound the books he published, he had naturally acquired intimate knowledge of the conditions affecting these trades. As one devoted to the protection of home industry, he at first found himself somewhat divided between his recognition of the rights of authorship and his desire to further the interests of the American book business by protecting it from destructive foreign competition. In time he came to perceive the possibility of reconciling the two aims, and on that basis he

fought for years against the two sets of opposite extremists: those who would grant complete international copyright irrespective of the American manufacture of a book, and those who wished, by preventing all measures of international copyright, to leave the author at the mercy of any printer unscrupulous enough to steal his work. Before the battles on this matter began in Congress in 1882, Lea was already well acquainted with all phases of the problem. In 1880, when Henry O. Houghton, a leading publisher of Boston, wished an expression of expert opinion on the book tariff for an editorial in the *Boston Daily Advertiser*, it was to Lea that he wrote. When in 1882 the Dorsheimer bill was presented in the Senate as the first outcome of the agitation of the authors' International Copyright League, and Lea publicly opposed the bill as injurious to the book trades, Houghton, out of his own wide experience, again wrote the Philadelphia publisher, "It seems to me that you are almost the only person who seems to have a clear idea of the whole question." When in 1891 the first international copyright act passed, it embodied the two principles for which Lea had continuously fought: the recognition of the rights of authorship, with the insistence that a book, to receive American protection, must be brought out in an American, as well as in a foreign edition.

The history of Lea's connection with the copyright agitation is traced succinctly in his letter to the historian, W. E. H. Lecky, January 7, 1890:¹

"You ask me about the prospect of an international copyright bill and express a fear that I am an enemy to the measure. I think I can guess now such an impression may

¹ Correspondence, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

have reached you, although I also think I can claim to have done more than any other man to render the measure possible. It is rather a long story, but if you take an interest in the matter perhaps you can pardon prolixity, and I would like to set myself right in your eyes.

"For nearly fifty years I have taken a part, more or less active, in every agitation of the subject, and understand its several phases. In this country, no legislation of the kind will stand if the labor interests are opposed to it, as they always have been until the last three or four years, and the special service which I have rendered was in winning them over.

"The struggle commenced years ago with the introduction of what is known as the 'Dorsheimer Bill.' This was a copyright bill of the simplest kind, and had the unqualified support of the Copyright League as recognizing the imprescriptible rights of authorship. I have never believed in those rights, any more than in unlimited patent rights, and I joined the labor interests in opposing it vigorously and openly, involving me in some tolerably sharp controversies with the united authorship of the country. I fear that I have never been forgiven. The next year, General Hawley in the Senate introduced a similar bill, which was warmly supported by the League and opposed by the labor interests.

"Meanwhile, another Senator, Mr. Chace of Rhode Island, a shrewd, honest old Quaker, had become interested in the subject. He came to Philadelphia in search of information and was referred to me. We took a liking to each other; he soon came to regard me as an authority on the subject, and made up his mind to devote himself to it, which he did with a single-minded earnestness deserving of all praise. Thinking that I saw an opportunity of reaching a practical and practicable compromise that should unite all interests, I framed a bill on a wholly original plan. We discussed it with the printers' trade union and convinced them that it would do them no harm, while it gave to authors all the benefits of preventing

piratical reprints. The printers adopted it and asked Senator Chace to introduce it, which he did. He wished to call it the 'Lea Bill,' but I insisted on christening it the 'Chace Bill,' and preserved my incognito as long as possible, not wishing to imperil its chances by the antagonism which I had excited. There followed an immense amount of wrangling—the session passed away with nothing accomplished; the League finally recognized that nothing but the Chace Bill had any prospect of success; in the autumn of '87 they finally agreed to accept it, with a very bad grace, and with a feeling of having been dictated to, and to make matters worse, Mr. Chace unfortunately, at a meeting of the League where they asked for some changes, told them that he could agree to nothing unless it had my approval. This did not tend to soothe exacerbations, but finally we came to an understanding about certain modifications and presented a united front. In the session of '88 Mr. Chace fought persistently for it and carried it finally through the Senate by a three-quarters vote. In the House of Representatives it hung; my belief is that it could have been pushed through with proper effort during the summer, but it was allowed to go over to the short session of '89 which ended on March 4. Meanwhile, the English publishers had become alarmed; they held meetings and organized to oppose it, for though it gave English authors an American copyright, it cut out English publishers, which was exactly what I intended it to do. Counsel were retained and a lobby formed to defeat it, which found a very powerful ally in the associated newspapers. There are concerns here which supply to the country press what are called 'patent outsides'—half a newspaper printed with reading matter and advertisements, which is completed with local matter at the place of issue. One establishment in New York furnishes 5000 country papers, and feared that it would have to pay for the tales and stories which it uses; and through its customers it could bring a very powerful influence to bear upon the country members. . . . In the crowded

business of the short session, our bill was easily shoved aside and never came up for consideration. There the matter stands at present. The existing Congress is a new one and the work must be recommenced from the beginning."

Mr. Lecky replied, March 22, 1891, "I congratulate you very sincerely on the part you have taken in a work which will probably have deeper and more far-reaching consequences than the immense majority of the measures which on either side of the Atlantic fill the minds of men."

This letter tells in brief almost the whole story, but only the crowded files of Lea's correspondence can reveal the intense application with which he pursued this battle, the many hours he devoted to it, and the skilful diplomacy with which he brought together, over many years, the diverse interests affected by the issue. He was steadily engaged in correspondence or in conferences with groups of authors, with Senators or Representatives in Washington, with lobbyists, with English and American publishers, with the Typographical Unions and members of associated crafts. He had at first attempted to persuade either Dorsheimer or Hawley to submit his bill to Chace's amendment to protect the printers and publishers; not until he failed in this did he come out in opposition with a substitute bill. He lost friends among authors who would not see all sides of the question, and considered the protection of authorship as the only matter at issue; but he made friends as well by the sincerity and consistency of his attitude. The bill, which passed in 1891, was really Lea's work, but nominally Chace's bill, although Chace had retired the previous year. At the dinner held by the authors of the Copyright League at Sherry's to celebrate the event, Lea's work was barely mentioned. Yet he had

the satisfaction of an honest victory. In a letter of January 30, 1901, Augustus T. Gurlitz, a prominent patent attorney of New York, who had represented the Copyright League in the last bitter battle, wrote Lea: "I carried away the impression which has remained with me, that among the publishers, you, with the aid of Mr. Appleton, Mr. Houghton and Mr. Joseph W. Harper, really furnished the judgment and wisdom which made International Copyright possible and resulted in the measure that has proven to be of great benefit to American authors. You and Senator Chace laid the foundations of the measure; the law has been built upon it. I have nowhere seen that Senator Chace or yourself, or the other gentlemen named, have obtained credit for the sagacity which made the success possible."

The candidacy and subsequent term as President of Benjamin Harrison drew Lea strongly back into the political arena, as writer and as practical worker. The fact that he had been led to regret that he had supported Cleveland in 1884 was well known to his friends, and he had made no secret of his disappointment at the President's failure to maintain his pledges in respect to the civil service. When the Democrats began their agitation to renominate Cleveland, the editor of the *Independent* requested Lea to prepare an article indicating the President's shortcomings. The result was his "Mr. Cleveland and Civil Service Reform," a paper which was reprinted and given very wide circulation in the ensuing election. Although a temperate recognition of the immense pressure to which any President at that time would be subjected by the spoils system, it nevertheless was strong in denunciation. As Houghton wrote the author, in praise of the

article, "there is no mistaking which side you advocate when you put your pen to paper." Still Lea was glad that he had not supported Blaine. As he wrote Garrison, editor of the *Nation*, "As between Cleveland and Blaine I should take to the woods and become a temporary Prohibitionist."

When Harrison's candidacy was first suggested by Republican leaders, well in advance of the convention, Lea made a direct effort to ascertain his views on the question that seemed to him of paramount importance. He wrote to his friend, Lucius B. Swift, of Indianapolis, a civil service reform advocate and a political colleague of Harrison in Indiana politics, urging him to thresh the matter out with the candidate. Swift replied that Harrison would be "a reasonably satisfactory civil service reform candidate," at the same time warning Lea that the popular issue, as the practical politicians saw it, was protection.

This became the more apparent when, much to Lea's chagrin, Quay was chosen to conduct the canvass for the Harrison ticket. This choice was mitigated, however, by the delegation of the Philadelphia chairmanship to the Independent, Wharton Barker, long associated with Lea in his controversies, and later, in 1900, to be nominated for the presidency on the Populist ticket. It was Lea's confidence in Barker that finally won his support of Harrison as well as his liberal pecuniary assistance. Thousands of copies of his *Independent* article were distributed at the author's expense by the Republican committees of States as far west as Indiana. From the latter State, Swift wrote, "Every one of your reprints from the *Independent* was carefully distributed and it was one of the final powerful blows that carried the State for Harrison. We had a close call."

After the election, the first disappointment to Independents arose from the selection of Blaine and Wanamaker as members of the Cabinet. This selection but confirmed the opinion that Harrison had really been elected by the manufacturers because of his protectionist views, and that this was the major issue involved. For in the canvass of 1888 Blaine had been the unquestioned party leader, and his chief argument had been an increase of protection. Thus it appeared that the enormous sums collected in the North by John Wanamaker had been contributed by the industrialists in return for the emphasis put upon higher tariffs.

To offset this emphasis Lea at once conferred with Senator Chace in the formulation of a new civil service bill extending the merit system and forbidding the solicitation of patronage by members of Congress. In the House of Representatives, to support the work of Chace in the Senate, Lea enlisted the sympathy of Henry Cabot Lodge, with whom he had a considerable correspondence. Theodore Roosevelt, then, like Lodge, a tyro, hearing of the matter, wrote an interesting letter in support of the proposed legislation (January 14, 1889):¹

"I write you because, like a good many other Republicans here, I look to just such men as yourself to keep the party straight; and also because it has been a source of genuine satisfaction to see it deserve your adherence.

"I do hope that under Harrison we shall see some substantial advance in the direction of Civil Service Reform; I don't expect impossibilities, but I hope at any rate to see him do better than Cleveland. Is there not some way in which he can at least be made to know that there is a large Republican element heartily out of sympathy with

¹ Correspondence, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

the view sure to be taken by the spoilsmen? He will be under terrific pressure from the latter; but I really believe he sympathizes with the merit system; can we not somehow strengthen his hands? Your position would give great weight to anything you say or any course you follow; and if I could back you in any way, I should be delighted to do so. . . ."

The date of this letter is significant. It was written only three months previously to the appointment of Roosevelt to the United States Civil Service Commission. The subsequent reform of the Federal civil service was to owe more to Roosevelt's efforts in this office than to the work of any other individual.

Lea's appreciation of the pressure which made it difficult for an executive of the nation to follow his convictions in this matter of patronage is shown by his letter to Norton of May 21 of that year. He said:

"I am not disposed to judge Harrison harshly, for I know the terrible pressure to which a President is subjected by our system of patronage, which is the political sum of all villainies. I tried to maintain my faith in Cleveland long after he had done worse than his successor yet has. In truth the spoils system is stronger than any man. . . . The people as yet need to be educated to a proper sense of its iniquities, and this must be a work of time. . . . You and I may not live to see the end, but it will come, and we shall meanwhile have the satisfaction of knowing that we are trying to perform the work which lies at our hands to do. It is this which lends the attraction to a conception of collective humanity, and that through those that come after us we are to reap the reward of our labors."

For other reasons than those above disclosed, Chace's civil service bill was doomed to failure. There was some ground for the suspicion that Cleveland, in an attempt to

discredit his possible successor, had at the last moment filled the civil service with as many incompetent Democrats as possible, knowing that the necessity for their subsequent removal would lay the Republicans open to the same charges of improper patronage that had been made against him in the early months of his own administration. One more attempt to stave off the inevitable was made by Lea in his "Open Letter to President Harrison," printed in several newspapers in early January of 1889, in which he implored him to avoid the mistakes into which Cleveland had fallen. The only other political writing of Lea during the Harrison administration was occasioned by the President's apparent support in 1890 of Quay's local battles in Pennsylvania, when Lea addressed an open letter to the Executive pointing out the magnitude of the iniquities of the local leader.

When, in 1892, Cleveland and Harrison were both running for reelection as President, Lea continued to support Harrison, who was in his view the less unsatisfactory. His "Independence and the Two Parties," which appeared in the *Independent* for September 21, 1892, stated his grounds for the belief that those Independents who in 1884 supported Cleveland, should now vote for his opponent. His only activity in this second term of Cleveland occurred in 1894, when a severe business panic was gripping the country. An income tax bill which had the support of the Administration, led him to the writing of an article in opposition, in which he condemned the measure as a sectional discrimination, throwing the burden of taxation on the industrial North. This article he called "A Mugwump's View of the Situation," but in publishing it in *Harper's Weekly*, March 10, 1894, the editor renamed it "A Protection Mugwump's Views."

The bill was later declared unconstitutional in the Supreme Court.

While Lea retained until his death his keen interest in politics, his participation from this time on was greatly decreased by the intense application of his remaining years to the completion of his historical works. He was, indeed, opposed to Bryan and all that he stood for in his unsuccessful candidacy against McKinley in 1896, but his nearest approach to activity in McKinley's behalf was his article, "The True Inwardness of the Canvass," published in the *Independent*, October 29, 1896. In 1897 he had an opportunity to advance the cause of international arbitration, in which he had long been interested. An impending treaty with Great Britain called for arbitral settlement of disputes. Lea united with Charles C. Harrison, Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, in calling a convention of Philadelphia's most prominent leaders and securing one hundred signers of a memorial to the Senate which Lea had written, petitioning that body to ratify the treaty in the interests of a great advance in world organization. The document received wide publicity for the power and beauty of its statement, and was printed in full in the Congressional Record on motion from the floor, a very unusual distinction in the case of such addresses.

The facts which have been set down record only the outstanding events in Lea's political activity; they could be considerably amplified. He affords an almost unique example of an individual who, without the backing of any party and without the prestige of public office, became a national figure and wielded a strong influence in two major political parties. Yet all this was but a minor phase in his many-sided life.

CHAPTER VII

THE INQUISITION OF THE MIDDLE AGES

LEA entered upon the period of his most important historical publications in 1887, with the completion of the first volume of his *History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*. The first pages of the manuscript of this work for which the author had been so many years collecting materials, were delivered to the publisher on March 14, 1887. From that time until the first volume was issued, on the eleventh of November,¹ Lea continued to send the manuscript of only one chapter at a time, in order to be able to revise or to add new material up to the last moment. This process he continued with the two remaining volumes, which appeared in March, 1888.

He had no trouble and experienced no delay in securing the publication of this important work. Less than a month before it went to press he had written Harper and Brothers:² "In a few days I hope to have ready for the press a type-written copy of a *History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, making probably two or three volumes. . . . I will be pleased to forward it for your consideration if you think that possibly you might like to entertain its publication. There is no work on the subject, in any language, worthy of consideration. Mine is the result of many years of labor and research and covers nearly the whole

¹ Letter of Joseph W. Harper, November 11, 1887, Correspondence, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

² February 26, 1887. Correspondence, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

spiritual and intellectual development of the medieval period, offering much variety of subject. I have endeavored to render it interesting both to the general reader and the special student, for which the theme offers abundant opportunity. I have exhausted all original sources of information, and have had the libraries and archives of Europe ransacked for unprinted material, much of which is of high value. I hope to follow it with a history of the modern Inquisition, for which I have made extensive collections, both Ms. and printed." Harper and Brothers at once accepted the work, offering to bear all expenses of publication and pay a royalty to the author. They further agreed to arrange for an English edition to be published simultaneously with the American.

In his Preface to *A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, Lea defined the scope of the work. "The history of the Inquisition," he wrote, "naturally divides itself into two portions, each of which may be considered as a whole. The Reformation is the boundary-line between them, except in Spain, where the new Inquisition was founded by Ferdinand and Isabella. In the present work I have sought to present an impartial account of the institution as it existed during the earlier period." That he had in mind more than a mere account of that sequence of events which constitutes the history of the Inquisition, and contemplated besides the interpretation of the period which developed it, and the consideration of its significance in terms of human evolution, is shown by a subsequent passage of great interest. "The Inquisition," he wrote, "was not an organization arbitrarily devised and imposed upon the judicial system of Christendom by the ambition or fanaticism of the Church. It was rather

a natural, one may almost say an inevitable, evolution of the forces at work in the thirteenth century, and no one can rightly appreciate the process of its development and the results of its activity without a somewhat minute consideration of the factors controlling the minds and souls of men during the ages which laid the foundation of modern civilization. To accomplish this it has been necessary to pass in review nearly all the spiritual and intellectual movements of the Middle Ages, and to glance at the condition of society in certain of its phases." Lea was interested, as this passage shows, not more in the Inquisition itself than in the broader questions of what forces had brought it into being, what influence it might be expected to have on the subsequent history of man, and what assistance it might give to the interpretation of history. This explains the evolutionary method of approach of these volumes, and the diversity of their subject-matter; but their author further prepares us for the contents of his book by continuing: "At the commencement of my historical studies I speedily became convinced that the surest basis of investigation for a given period lay in an examination of its jurisprudence, which presents without disguise its aspirations and the means regarded as best adapted for their realization. I have accordingly devoted much space to the origin and development of the inquisitorial process, feeling convinced that in this manner only can we understand the operations of the Holy Office and the influence which it exercised on successive generations. By the application of the results thus obtained it has seemed to me that many points which have been misunderstood or imperfectly appreciated can be elucidated." With such an explanation as this we are not surprised to

find that two of the three volumes constituting the work lay their chief stress on the principles, organization, jurisprudence and fields of activity of the Inquisition.

Volume I is devoted to the "Origin and Organization of the Inquisition." As a background to the origin of the institution, we find in the first chapter an explanation of the domination of the Church at the end of the twelfth century. "The vicissitudes of a hundred and fifty years, skilfully improved, had rendered it the mistress of Christendom." Its control over the consciences, minds and actions of peasant and prince alike, exercised through an admirably centralized and almost universal organization, had given it a power unequalled by that of any other institution in recorded history. But even then an opposition, induced by the natural human tendency to independence of thought, was preparing to test its powers in one of the great crises of its career, and out of that crisis and the resulting victory of the Church grew, as the author shows, the beginning of the power of the Inquisition. In the opening chapter Lea skilfully depicts the complicated conditions which led to the growing antagonism of the laity. The corrupt political conditions within the Church, the martial character of the prelates, the abuses of the Papal and Episcopal jurisdiction, the burdening of the people by tithes, by levies to build cathedrals, by the sale of the sacraments, and by various forms of extortion, together with the flagrant personal immorality of some of the clergy, and their impregnable claims of immunity, are rapidly sketched as the fertile soil for the growth of revolt and heresy. The intellectual awakening of the eleventh century bore fruit in the independent thought which in the twelfth century resulted in the various

heresies. These are described, with accounts of the leading heretical thinkers, in the two succeeding chapters. The struggle of the Church against heresy is then followed from early attempts, like the unsuccessful crusade of 1181, and the independent efforts of individuals, like Pope Innocent III, through the Albigensian Crusades, with their complicated political aspects, until the success of the Church was recognized in the Treaty of Paris of 1229, and heresy was doomed to an established system of persecution.

Next the author fully traces the development of the mendicant orders, which departed in time from their earlier character of zealous missionaries, and as conditions changed, gradually assumed the functions of trained and itinerant inquisitors. The gradual organization of the courts of the Inquisition developed by the mendicants, especially the Dominicans, is traced to the middle of the thirteenth century. By this time the Inquisition was fully established, and the persecution of heresy, or freedom of individual thought, was strongly influencing the direction of human history. The subsequent chapters in the first volume are devoted to a full account of the machinery of the Inquisition: its formal organization, its officers and jurisdiction, its method of trial, its treatment of evidence, its varieties of sentence and punishment, and the adroit maneuvering by which it at last coerced the civil authorities to punish impenitent or relapsed heretics with death at the stake, a sentence which canon law prohibited ecclesiastics from pronouncing.

The second and third volumes of *The Inquisition of the Middle Ages* may be more briefly described. Volume II traces the separate history of "the Inquisition in the sev-

eral lands of Christendom": Languedoc, France, the Spanish peninsula, Italy, Germany, and Bohemia. In each of these countries the establishment and growing influence of the Inquisition from the thirteenth century onward is treated, until the unrest which culminated in the Reformation challenged its power. In each country both the good effects of the Inquisition and its later decay and abuse are shown, and special attention is given to the great reform movements, like that of the Waldenses, and to individuals such as Wickliffe, Huss, Reuchlin, Luther, and others.

The third volume is devoted to "special fields of inquisitorial activity." Here are treated the numerous separate struggles waged by the Inquisition against various sects, orders or individuals. The struggles with such rebellious elements as the Spiritual Franciscans, the Guglielmites, and the Fraticelli are fully described. In two chapters is treated the important subject of political heresy; as utilized by the Church against such individuals as Manfred of Naples, the Colonnas, the Visconti, Cola di Rienzo and Savonarola; as utilized by the State in such instances as the persecution of the Templars or of Joan of Arc. There is also a treatment, in two chapters, of the activities of the Inquisition against sorcery and witchcraft, representing only a very small portion of those researches which Lea had already made in partial preparation for the book on witchcraft that he was unable to complete before his death.

In the Preface to *The Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, Lea wrote, "I have not paused to moralize, but I have missed my aim if the events narrated are not so presented as to teach their appropriate lesson." The impartial reader of this work must feel that he has correctly stated

his manner of treatment. The lesson of history was to be found in tracing the development of man, and that development was revealed most clearly in the growing ideal of human freedom of action and thought. This point of view is reflected in the subtle, almost implicit interpretation which Lea permitted his facts to elucidate. Not until the end of the entire work does he allow himself a direct statement of his viewpoint. In his last pages he says, in part, "The review which we have made of the follies and crimes of our ancestors has revealed to us a scene of almost unrelieved blackness. We have seen how the wayward heart of man, groping in twilight, has under the best of impulses inflicted misery and despair on his fellow-creatures while thinking to serve God, and how the unprincipled have traded on those impulses to gratify the lust of avarice and domination. Yet such a review, rightly estimated, is full of hope and encouragement. In the unrest of modern society, where immediate relief is sought from the mass of evils oppressing mankind, and impatience is eager to overturn all social organization in the hope of founding a new structure where preventable misery shall be unknown, it is well occasionally to take a backward view, to tear away the veil which conceals the passions and the sufferings of bygone generations, and estimate fairly the progress already effected. Human development is slow and irregular; to the observer at a given point it appears stationary or retrogressive, and it is only by comparing periods removed by a considerable interval of time that the movement can be appreciated. . . . Imperfect as are human institutions today, a comparison with the past shows how marvellous has been the improvement. Principles have been established which, if allowed

to develop themselves naturally and healthfully, will render the future of mankind very different from aught that the world has yet seen."

It was but natural that the author should be curious to learn the reactions of other scholars as well as those of the reading public to his work. He had already established his reputation as a scholar, and he had certainly no doubts as to the thoroughness of his research or the validity of his judgments. But the scope of *The Inquisition of the Middle Ages* placed it in a category apart from his earlier works, and the subject had always before been so controversially treated, and regarded so emotionally by scholars and readers of every belief, that the reception of this book was a matter of some concern to him. He had made a very strong effort to avoid sensationalism or the fervor of prejudice without vitiating the appeal or dulling the style of his writing, and he was therefore highly pleased to note, from the tone of certain reviews, that he had presented his material in a manner interesting even to those who were not scholars of the subject. In a letter to his publisher,¹ who had sent him a copy of a popular review of the work, Lea said: "I am much obliged to you for Mr. Dabney's notice of my book and also for giving me the satisfaction of knowing that it comes from one well qualified to sit in judgment. Of all the reviews I think it is the one which gives me personally the most gratification from its praise of the literary form of the book. I can myself judge as to the material, but no one can form an opinion as to his style, or as to whether he has hit the happy medium between scientific dryness and sensational

¹ Lea to Joseph W. Harper, February 1, 1888. Correspondence, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

gush." Again and again in subsequent reviews he was to be assured that he had "hit the happy medium" and that the work, in spite of the arduous investigation upon which it rested, held interest for the general reader.

An incident which relates to a proposed dedication of the work indicates the author's doubts as to its reception, and admirably illustrates the sensitive modesty which was one of his lovable characteristics. It has been related¹ that ten years before the appearance of *The Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, while he was engaged in his early research in the field, Lea suffered a collapse which nearly terminated his career as scholar. From this he was saved, as has been told, by the skill of his physician, Dr. S. Weir Mitchell, the novelist, who had been his friend from boyhood. Lea was so grateful to the physician that he entertained the idea of dedicating this work to him. His reasons for not doing so he related to Mitchell in a letter² in reply to the latter's praise of his book. "I must confess," he wrote, "that the general acclamation which my book seems to have called forth has surprised me no little. It is no better work than my former volumes, the only difference being that the subject admitted of a treatment a little more popular, while at the same time requiring stricter self-control to avoid rhetoric and gush, which I hold in abhorrence. . . . Be the book good or bad, you are responsible for it, as I believe I have already told you. I wanted to ask your permission to dedicate it to you, but when the time came my heart failed me, for I did not know how it would turn out, and it would not have been

¹ Chapter VI, pp. 157-167.

² April 28, 1888. Correspondence, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

a friendly thing to link your name with a failure. But I by no means as yet consider myself out of the critical woods. I have trodden on the toes of a good many learned men who are quite competent to point out the blunders I may have made, and I expect to be handsomely scored in Germany and France, if my book happens to attract attention enough there to be seriously reviewed." Mitchell was deeply touched by the delicacy of Lea's feeling. Twenty-three years later he recalled the incident in his address at a Memorial Meeting in honor of the historian,¹ and in the same year he gave a fuller account of his memory of the incident in a letter to Charles M. Lea,² son of the historian. Mitchell wrote, "The amazing humility of a man like your father, who could write such words as these, I still think of with grateful remembrance. I never saw another man like him. If anything is written about your father, and something should be written, this is about as notable a trait of character as anyone could find in a life like his."

The scope of the book and the special nature of its subject precluded the possibility of its attracting a wide circle of readers. But it took its place at once among the best standard historical works, and it has maintained that position unaltered to the present time. It has been built upon, but not superseded. With this result Lea was sufficiently satisfied. The historian Lecky some years later³ wrote him quoting Dean Farrar's opinion that his work had more strongly than that of any other his-

¹ *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 50, No. 198, p. 38.

² November 29, 1909. Correspondence, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

³ June 16, 1896. Correspondence, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

torian influenced the direction of scholarly opinion in this field. Lea replied, "What you tell me as to Dean Farrar's estimate of the influence of my books is exceedingly gratifying. I cannot look for any wide circle of readers, for the subject and mode of treatment are not such as appeal to the general public, but if I can reach those who do the thinking for others I shall feel that the labor is not wasted."

The unusual attention at once paid to the work by scholars and the general enthusiasm of the reviews was due not alone to the need for a thorough study of this field or to the evident care with which the research had been conducted. Lea's method as a historian had reached its fullest development in this book, and scholars were quick to point out its appropriateness for a lengthy work of exact scholarship. Although the so-called "scientific method" of history had been in process of development some time before Lea's earliest works, he had been regarded as a notable exponent of this technique of historical writing. His position as an exemplar of the "scientific method" was later interestingly analyzed by Professor Cheyney in an address made the same year that the older historian published his last volume of the *Spanish Inquisition*.¹ Against the former fashion of historical writing, Professor Cheyney throws into contrast the work of Lea, as an exemplification of the new. In part he says:

"History no doubt can be written, has been frequently written, in prose as lofty as poetry, in such a way that certain moral or religious or political principles, broad and fundamental, or narrow and contentious, are brought out.

¹ Cheyney, E. P.: "What is History?" Address before the Graduate School of the University of Pennsylvania. *Alumni Register*, University of Pennsylvania, October 3, 1907.

In the vast mass of historical facts the historian will naturally find those that he seeks, and he may, if he will, arrange his materials and make moral reflections upon them in accordance with his beliefs and preconceptions.

"But this ideal costs its price. The historian under its influence feels called upon to make ethical judgments of actions and of men, defending or condemning historical personages and their actions. Men of the past are thought of as models to be followed or warnings of what is to be avoided, or at least as objects of admiration or dislike. This leads to the habit of ascribing extreme historical importance to the character and work of individuals and correspondingly little influence to the general conditions of the time or to the great mass of people. Good and bad motives can be ascribed to persons, not to the conditions of civilization that surround them; certain named persons can be praised or blamed, the great unnamed masses cannot be. So the historian dilates on the psychological and moral characteristics of a few prominent individuals and supposes them to have had great freedom of action and an unbounded extent of influence. Motley's *William of Orange* and *Philip of Spain*, Carlyle's *Robespierre* and *Cromwell*, Froude's *Henry VIII*, Macaulay's *William III*, and a crowd of lesser heroes of lesser historians owe much of their conspicuous position in history to the admiration or condemnation of them in the mind of their historians; and history itself comes to be looked upon as the acts of a few great men using the rest of mankind simply as their instruments.

"But the greatest price we have to pay for this ethical attitude toward history is the intense subjectivity it gives to it. Everything comes to the reader as interpreted by the historian. Everything is seen through the medium of his personality. The facts of history when they are used to teach a moral lesson do not reach us in their entirety, nor grouped and generalized according to their internal relations, but selected and arranged according to the overmastering ideal in the mind of the historian. The

reader is at the historian's mercy. The same set of facts, that is to say the history of the same country or period, comes to us as a Catholic, a Protestant or an Anglican history, according to the lesson that the historian wants to teach.

"I want now to turn to another ideal, which looks at history from no one of these points of view; which conceives of it neither as primarily intended to give instruction nor primarily to give pleasure; which does not place it in the service of any other particular branch of knowledge, but allows it to exist for its own sake. According to this conception of history, the past is looked at simply, directly, objectively; it is conceived as merely something to be understood and explained.

"Just as the geologist studies the physical conformation of a country, its strata and its fossils, endeavors to understand and then to describe the conditions they indicate; just as the astronomer makes his observations and investigations and reaches the results of his study; just as the student of any branch of knowledge approaches his subject, so the historian may approach the past of the human race, study what mankind has done and said and thought, strive to understand, strive to explain. He can look upon his subject as simply a body of facts, to be investigated and described for their own sakes, not with a view of drawing a lesson from them, not with a view of praising or blaming anyone, not with a view of so choosing and putting the facts as to give emotional pleasure to the reader, not, in fact, with any ulterior purpose whatever; but simply to take human history as his object of study, just as one might take any other group of phenomena.

"This is the modern scholar's conception of history, as contrasted with the ethical or the literary conception. It might be called the scientific method of treating history. The scientific method means nothing more than the simple method, the direct approach to a subject, seeking knowledge for its own sake, without ulterior objects or ultimate expectations of any kind from it, using accurate methods

of observation, logical processes of classification, trained powers of comprehension and explanation, that is all that a scientific method means, and it is just as applicable to history as to any other field of knowledge.

“Such an answer to the question, what is history? such an historical ideal, has, like others, its own rewards and its own demands. It must not be supposed, in the first place, that such historical work is necessarily a thankless task. More than fifty years ago, Mr. Lea took up the study of medieval law and certain medieval and early modern institutions, especially those connected with the Church. He is still at work in that field, and at this very moment, in all probability, his head is bending over the proof sheets of the fourth and final volume of his *History of the Spanish Inquisition*. He had from the beginning an intense desire to know, and an open mind. He felt no attraction to polemical and secondary discussions, but went directly to the raw material from which all historical knowledge must be constructed. He has had means that have enabled him to gather in his own library a great body of such sources of history as are published, and to have many manuscripts copied from the libraries of Europe; he has applied keen mental powers and infinite industry and perseverance to these materials, and has given to the world just what he has found. This has been embodied in some fifteen volumes, which have been published from time to time during the half century of his labors. They are not, of course, popular history, and their titles are not such as to conciliate popular interest. Nevertheless many thousand copies and repeated editions have been printed, sold and read; they are to be found in every public and many private libraries; every scholar interested in the history of the Middle Ages knows and uses them; every professor of history who teaches that period requires his students to read parts of them; they have been translated into various languages, and they stand now as representing the principal body of acquired knowledge in that portion of the history of the world. In many circles in many

cities of Europe you might name over the list of Philadelphia's business men, lawyers and physicians, and find that not a name was recognized. The first gleam of recognition to give comfort to our local patriotism would come with the mention of Henry C. Lea."

This opinion of Lea's method and the consequent impartiality of his results was expressed by many of the most eminent historians at the time *The Inquisition of the Middle Ages* was published, and it has been frequently restated in subsequent criticism. Frederic W. Maitland, then Professor of Law at Cambridge University, and an authoritative writer on the history of law, concluded his review of the book¹ with a similar statement of its objectivity: "It is Dr. Lea's glory that he is one of the very few English-speaking men who have had the courage to grapple with the law and legal documents of Continental Europe. He has looked at them with the naked eye instead of seeing them, a much easier task, through German spectacles. We trust him thoroughly because he keeps his gaze fixed on the Middle Ages, and never looks around for opinions to be refuted or quarrels to be picked. This is not the policy that we could recommend to any but a strong man. Dr. Lea, however, is strong, sober and wary." Bishop Mandell Creighton, Editor of *The English Historical Review*, and an eminent historian, replied to a correspondent who expressed distrust of American scholarship, "You are quite right about the Americans, except Lea. He is a real scholar, and his work is thorough. He is engaged in following up his massive history of the Medieval Inquisition by a history of the Spanish Inquisition. If you don't know Lea's books, read

¹ *The English Historical Review*, vol. 8, p. 755.

them; for no one knows more about the institutions of the Medieval Church.”¹

This, although coming from a friend of Lea, was entirely impartial praise, substantiating the enthusiastic appreciation with which Creighton had already written the author. One detects in the letters which poured in on Lea from historians who knew him all over the world, much more than the perfunctory praise which one author might feel it only his duty to bestow on the book of another who was his friend. Thus, Lecky, who was writing him² primarily about another matter, the final arrangements for transcribing the Mss. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, referred to his pleasure in *The Inquisition of the Middle Ages*. He continued enthusiastically: “I have of late been talking a great deal about you to Mr. Addington Symonds, who was looking through your ‘Inquisition’ at my home and who told me that he meant to take it for his winter’s study at Davos, with Mr. Elton, the historian of English land, whom I found to be a great admirer of your books on the Middle Ages, with Mrs. Humphry

¹ Creighton, Mrs. Louise: *Life and Letters of Bishop Creighton*, London, 1904, 1, 409–410.

In this biography of a great English historian there are frequent references to Mr. Lea. The biographer, Mrs. Creighton, wrote, “He had much correspondence with Mr. H. C. Lea, who helped him in establishing and editing *The English Historical Review*. At Philadelphia he had the pleasure of making his personal acquaintance.” In a letter to Mr. Lea Bishop Creighton wrote, “I have been reading your book with increasing admiration for its thoroughness. It is the only one in English which is an indispensable introduction to the study of the Inquisition.” To another correspondent the Bishop wrote, “We shall shortly know all that can be known about Indulgences. Mr. Lea is bringing out a book on the subject. He knows most of any living man about the institutes of the Medieval Church.”

² December 21, 1889. Correspondence, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

Ward, who in addition to her other accomplishments is passionately devoted to Spanish literature."

From many historians who had never before known him came letters of commendation, some of which inaugurated correspondence lasting over many years. Count Ugo Balzani, Paul Frédéricq, Edouard Montet, Émile Comba, and Eugène Hubert, all well-known historians, were in this manner added to the circle of Lea's correspondents and friends.

Count Ugo Balzani, who became Lea's first Italian reviewer, and later was instrumental in securing him permission to put amanuenses to work on the documents in the Vatican archives, was introduced by a letter of Bishop Creighton, who wrote,¹ "I dare say you know by name a young Italian historian, Count Ugo Balzani, one of the most learned men in the Middle Ages whom I know. He is at present in England for some time and I recommended him to read your *History of the Inquisition*." Creighton further stated that Balzani was so enthusiastic about the work that he desired to prepare an account of all Lea's writings for the *Rivista Storica Italiana*, published at Turin, an important Italian review. Lea sent Balzani a copy of all his books with permission to review them if he saw fit. He and Balzani continued an active correspondence until the latter's death.

Professor Charles Molinier of Toulouse was instrumental in inaugurating the friendship and correspondence between Lea and Professor Paul Frédéricq, of Ghent. Professor Molinier sent Lea an account of the progress of the Belgian historian on the records of the Inquisition in the

¹ December 29, 1888. Correspondence, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

Netherlands, and of the approaching publication of the first volume of the *Corpus Inquisitionis hæreticæ pravitatis Neerlandicæ*. Lea sent Frédéricq a letter of congratulation, and the two volumes of his own history then in print, following them in a few weeks with the last volume when it appeared. In his first letter¹ Lea had said, "I regret very greatly that I could not have had the benefit of your forthcoming work. In Flanders and Holland the medieval Inquisition was so imperfectly organized and so fragmentary in its operations that I found peculiar difficulty in obtaining any trustworthy details concerning it, although I had the collections in Paris and Brussels searched for inedited materials concerning it. Even the *Précurseurs de la Réforme* of the learned Altmeyer furnished but little, and such a work as yours would have been of great assistance to me. I propose to continue the history of the Holy Office down to the present time and am now beginning my investigations into that of Spain, for which I have secured a considerable amount of inedited material."

He was quite unprepared, however, for the kindness of Frédéricq, who replied on February 25, offering to send the American week by week the proof-sheets of his volume, in the hope that they might be of service in his last revision of his work. Frédéricq continued, "Your book is a good fortune to me. I was seeking for a book of that value and could not find it. Hoffmann, Rule, and others are too ridiculous." After reading the last volume, he wrote again, on April 26, to add, "The more I read it over, the more I must admire the immense erudition of your book. How is it possible to you in America, at such a distance from our libraries and our archives, to write such a book?"

¹ February 13, 1888. Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

Many of the documents I thought I was the first to place in a printed collection, are quoted by you! I am glad to hear that you are studying the Spanish Inquisition. It is a very intricate question. And I am sure that you shall write on it with the same erudition and objectivity as on the general history of *The Inquisition of the Middle Ages*." The correspondence thus so pleasantly begun was a fruitful one for many years. In 1900 Frédéricq wrote the admirable prefatory essay to Reinach's French translation of Lea's *Inquisition of the Middle Ages*.

Several other friendships were begun in a somewhat similar way through the publication of this work. In 1888, Edouard Montet, Professor of Oriental Languages at Geneva, having written a review, sent Lea a copy of his article previously to its publication. Thus began a friendship which lasted until Lea's death. In later years the American historian became the chief benefactor of two archæological expeditions undertaken by Montet. Also with Professor Emile Comba of Florence, Lea had previously had a slight correspondence, but their letters became more frequent after 1888. Among the early letters of this period, congratulating Lea on the publication of the first volume of the *Inquisition* is one from Professor Comba: "You had the goodness to write me that had you seen my first volume in time, you would have benefited. Rather, it is I who should have learned from your work." The first letter from Professor G. B. de Lagrèze, of Basses-Pyrénées, France, was the earliest indication of the need for a translation of the work: "Your book deserves to be translated into all languages. The French begin to understand the need for the study of foreign languages. I have read a History that resembles a romance."

Nearly ten years later the work was still producing new friendships for its author, for it was not until 1896 that the correspondence began with Professor Eugène Hubert, of Liège, who sent Lea a clipping of one of his articles which mentioned Lea's *Inquisition of the Middle Ages*. But unique among the personal contacts brought about by this work was the gift, in 1908, of the *Vie die Jeanne d'Arc* by Anatole France, with a letter thanking Lea for the help which the author had derived from Lea's treatment of the heroine.

The published reviews of the work were many in France, Italy, Germany, England and the United States. Some unfavorable criticism was to be expected, especially from those reviewers whose religious bias dictated their reactions. However, it has been said that among Lea's adverse critics there is hardly one of first prominence, while on the other hand the most commendatory of the reviews were written by the most distinguished historians. In America the work naturally evoked almost universal enthusiasm. The first academic recognition came from Harvard University. Professor Andrew Preston Peabody, writing for President Eliot, said, "Your work cannot be superseded." He conveyed to Lea the University's desire to confer upon him the degree of LL.D. at the approaching convocation, but Lea declined the honor on the ground that his health would not permit him to undertake the journey to Cambridge. He was especially pleased at this notice of his work, however, as also by the favorable review by Bernhardt in *Historisches Zeitschrift*, and above all by the admirable review by Lord Acton, himself a Catholic, in *The English Historical Review*, October, 1888.

Lord Acton, the only historian of distinction among the

Catholic reviewers of the work, praised it unstintingly, an endorsement which becomes the more significant by virtue of the fact that few men in the history of scholarship have ever been better prepared than he to judge such a book. On hearing a description of the work before its publication, Molinier, the most eminent French medievalist, had written Lord Acton his opinion that a book of the scope and size that Lea contemplated, with such a subject, "serait une entreprise à peu près chimérique." On reading the work, however, Lord Acton was inclined to think that Molinier's impossible had been achieved. In his review he said "Lea has made the most important contribution of the new world to the religious history of the old. He equals Buckle in the extent, and surpasses him in the intelligent choice and regulation of his reading. His information is comprehensive, minute, exact and everywhere sufficient, if not everywhere complete. In this astonishing press of digested facts there is barely space to discuss the ideas which they exhibit and the law which they obey, but the vital points are protected by a panoply of mail. The design and organization . . . constitute a sound and solid structure that will survive the censure of all critics. He gives a singularly careful account of the steps, legislative and administrative, by which the Church and State combined to organize the institution, and of the manner in which its methods were formed by practice. Nothing in European literature can compete with this, the center and substance of Mr. Lea's great history. He summons his witnesses, calls on the nations to declare their experience, and tells how the new force acted upon society to the end of the Middle Ages. History of this undefined and international cast, which shows the same wave breaking upon many

shores, is always difficult for the want of visible unity and progression, and has seldom succeeded so well as in this rich narrative." In a long passage Acton admires the erudition underlying the work, and sums up his opinion as follows: "Not his acquaintance with rare books only, which might be the curiosity of an epicurean, but with the right and appropriate book, amazes the reader. . . . The *Vaticenia Pontificum* is a volume not in common use, and decent people may be found who never saw a copy. Mr. Lea says: 'I have met with editions of Venice issued in 1589, 1600, 1605 and 1646; of Ferrara in 1591; of Frankfort in 1608; of Padua in 1625; and of Naples in 1660; and there are doubtless numerous others.' This is the general level throughout; the rare failures disappear in the imposing supererogation of knowledge." Almost the whole of Lord Acton's review is in this laudatory tone, and there was every reason for Lea's feeling highly pleased by it. For as Professor Coulton recently remarked,¹ "Acton was not only sparing of praise, but the man from whose pen, above all others, praise was precious. For he was the most learned of living Roman Catholic historians; and, in all English historiography, Gibbon and Hallam and Macaulay are the only three who can be even named with him for erudition."

In spite of Lea's pleasure at the well-deserved praise which Lord Acton had bestowed upon his work, there was a quite unintentional offense in it which the American historian met in a manner serving to illustrate his personality and his attitude as a scholar. Lord Acton had opened his review with the following anecdote: "A good many

¹ Coulton, G. G.: "The Inquisition Once More," *Edinburgh, Review*, April, 1927, 245, No. 500.

years ago," he wrote, "when Bishop Wilberforce was at Winchester, and the Earl of Beaconsfield was a character in fiction, the Bishop was interested in the proposal to bring over the Utrecht Psalter. Mr. Disraeli thought the scheme absurd. 'Of course,' he said, 'you won't get it.' He was told that nevertheless such things are, that public manuscripts had even been sent across the Atlantic in order that Mr. Lea might write his *History of the Inquisition*. 'Yes,' he replied, 'but they never came back again.'"¹ Lea resented the implication that he could be capable of abusing the confidence reposed in him by the several foreign libraries that had extended extraordinary privileges to him in the course of his work, and, besides, he saw at once how great an injury might be done him in the future by this statement, if any custodian of manuscript sources should derive from it the idea that he was not trustworthy. He wrote Bishop Creighton, then editor of the *Review*, to ask that an explanation be made in the next issue, pointing out that the implied criticism of Lord Acton was "a cruel injury to one whose means of research depend so much on the confidence inspired by personal character among the guardians of historical documents." His statement was of course forwarded to Lord Acton, who wrote back apologetically to Bishop Creighton: "I am ashamed to have made myself misunderstood by such a man. The story occurred to me as a way of informing Mr. Lea how long one of his reviewers had looked out for the book. I ought to have remembered that everybody was not familiar with the ways of our conservative wit. You shall have no more jokes that are not of true blue

¹ It was subsequently explained apologetically that Disraeli sometimes "spoke at random."

extraction. Pray explain this in the most explicit way and compurgate me with the distinguished man I have had the misfortune to offend." Bishop Creighton forwarded this letter to Lea, together with his own advice that the matter should be ignored, since no one in England could possibly misunderstand the jocular import of Lord Acton's anecdote, and since he thought Lea's proposed statement would only emphasize the incident and possibly do more harm than good. With this view Lea did not agree, and there appeared in the next number of the *Review*, at his urgent request, his careful statement of the occasions on which he had borrowed documents from various archives and the dates when they had been returned. This incident illustrated Lea's rigid sense of honor and the seriousness with which he regarded every aspect of his career as a scholar. There was no grievance against Lord Acton; he understood exactly what the reviewer had meant to effect by his opening lines, but he wished to be quite sure that no one else misunderstood.

It has been stated that *A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages* aroused the antagonism of certain critics who regarded it as prejudicial to their religion. Such criticism, although voluminous, he was able almost to disregard. For he knew that he had the approbation of the historical scholars whom he most highly respected, and he knew the thoroughness and impartiality of the investigation which underlay the work. With very few exceptions his adverse critics were not historians at all, but Catholic churchmen, and in most instances men of slight distinction, compared with scholars who had praised his work, like Lecky, Maitland, Acton, Molinier and Frédéricq. The charges brought by his detractors seem entirely

unfounded to anyone who has had the opportunity to examine his books, manuscripts and correspondence, but they have been so often repeated, even sometimes in sober journals of criticism, as to constitute almost a hostile legend.¹

The copyists employed in foreign archives to secure transcripts for him were always well trained, yet the historian never relied on them to select the significant sources. When a new collection was to be broached, he had first a descriptive index of the whole prepared, at considerable labor and expense. From this, with his almost unerring judgment of the value of sources, he

¹ "The great volume of Mr. Lea's accomplishment, combined with his practice of having unprinted material copied and sent to him from Europe, has given rise to a strange misconception of his habits of work. One of his critics suggested that Mr. Lea, being a man of wealth, might have secured the services of others; another that his numerous references to obscure sources pointed to his possession of a large body of detailed quotations which could be used by him in constructing his books. A third critic copied and developed these suggestions, till, according to the well-known process of the growth of a legend, it has been stated in a French journal that much of Mr. Lea's work was done for him by assistants, that he kept a card catalogue of quotations and references, and that his work was largely a mosaic made by putting together these materials gathered by others. Nothing could be more absurdly untrue. No scholar ever worked more absolutely independently than he, few ever worked more completely alone. He never employed a secretary or clerk, never dictated a letter. Just as his library was collected according to his own judgment, just as the material for his writing was collected by himself, so his works were written from his own brain and by his own hand in the most literal sense of the word." Cheyney, E. P.: "On the Life and Works of Henry Charles Lea," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 50, No. 198.

He was exceedingly careful in the choice of pen and paper, and he used very light pressure, as he realized that writers' cramp would require him to learn to dictate, and that it would immensely interfere with the method he had developed as best for his work if he had to employ another person. He used a very fine pointed pen and his writing was almost as even as copperplate.

selected the documents to be copied. The copies were carefully checked several times with the originals, and were always copied entirely, and not merely excerpted. In his own text he always worked from the entire document until his judgments were formed, then reduced the materials for the sake of the proportions of the finished book. As for the supposed card index of quotations, one who examines the resources of the library which the historian collected sees at once the absurdity of the charge. Acton's amazement at the fertility of reference in *The Inquisition of the Middle Ages* has already been noted, yet the author could truthfully write Molinier, in connection with that work, "There are not half a dozen volumes referred to in my book which are not in my own library." Neither are there many books in that large collection that do not show, by marginal notes and cross references in Lea's precise hand, that they have been much used and deeply studied. Much of the adverse criticism was uninformed, fatuous or marked by extreme bias. After a very adverse review in the *Catholic Quarterly*, Lea wrote Bishop Creighton, highly amused, "A newspaper here printed some of Lord Acton's commendatory remarks on my book; mentioning that Lord Acton is a Catholic. The Jesuit father who had served as my executioner in the *Catholic Quarterly* promptly wrote the editor that if Lord Acton is a Catholic, he at least is not a Roman Catholic." Such hair-splitting as this, and such captiousness, marked the bulk of the adverse criticism.

Indeed, Lea's habit of precise statement, his avoidance of generalization, his careful documentation, left his reasonable critics very little to condemn. He was faithful to the principle stated in his letter to Professor Domenico

Battaini, when granting him permission to translate the work into Italian. Assuming from the tone of Battaini's letter that he regarded the work as of value in the Italian movement to disseminate anti-clerical propaganda, the author wrote in surprise, "I have never sought to influence the religious beliefs of others, but I have always been inspired with the desire to ascertain and set forth impartially the absolute facts of history and let them teach their own lessons." Fully aware of the dangers of partisanship, he was consciously and continuously adhering to the method of plain and objective statement. Writing to M. Reinach¹ regarding a charge of partiality made by Professor Kurth in a review of that year published in the *Revue Belgique* he said:

"I commenced my medieval studies without any pre-conception adverse to Catholicism, but I found the Church as a political system adverse to the interests of humanity. Against it as a religion I have nothing to say. My conception of the duty of an historian is that he shall seek the truth and state it without fear or favor. This I have sought to do and to leave my readers to draw their own conclusions, though it sometimes requires self-restraint to suppress one's feelings of sympathy with the oppressed and of horror or disgust at the oppressor."

As proof that he succeeded in this avowed effort at self-restraint we have again the testimony of the learned Catholic, Lord Acton, in the review cited previously. "Mr. Lea undertakes," wrote Acton, "to dispute no doctrine and to propose no moral. He starts with an avowed desire not to say what may be construed injuriously to the character or feelings of men. He writes pure history

¹ March 13, 1901. Correspondence, Lea, Library, University of Pennsylvania.

and is methodically oblivious to applied history. The broad and sufficient realm of fact is divided by a scientific frontier from the outer world of interested argument. Beyond the frontier he has no cognizance and neither aspires to inflame conscience nor to compose the great eirenikon. Those who approach with love or hatred are to go away empty."

One important evidence of Lea's fairness is seen in his insistence, in principle and in practice, on the idea that men were to be judged in the light of the best ideals and standards of the day in which they lived, and not by some hypothetical or presumed universal criterion. Often in his work we find him making a point of this fact in partial extenuation of some act which modern judgment might condemn. In 1901, writing to Reinach regarding the latter's French translation of *The Inquisition of the Middle Ages* and the French reviews of that work, he said:¹

"No writer can be indifferent to the opinions passed upon his work by those whose learning gives them a right to form a judgment on a book of special research.

"I have therefore naturally observed with much interest the reception accorded to the present work which you have so kindly introduced to the French public. I have been gratified to see that on the one hand it has been accused of undue partiality towards the medieval Church and on the other of manifesting toward it a spirit of hostility.

"I say that this has gratified me because it seems an assurance that I have not deviated from the only proper aim of an historian, to ascertain the truth and to set it forth clearly, dispassionately and without prejudice.

"In this I have been forced to relate many terrible

¹ May 27, 1901. Correspondence, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

events—cruelty organized into a system, the sufferings of the innocent, calamities which have engulfed whole populations—but, if I remember aright, I have not uttered a word of censure on those who conscientiously wrought these evils believing them to be God's work.

"Blame can rightfully be cast on men like Philippe le Bel or John XXII, who stimulate and exploit the spirit of persecution for the personal ends of greed or ambition. The conscientious fanatic, such as St. Peter Martyr or St. John Capistrano, however dangerous he may be to the welfare of humanity, is not to be reproached; he is to be judged by the principles in which he has been trained and by the standards of his environment. If he works evil thinking it to be good the fault lies not with him but with the doctrine that unity of faith is the *summum bonum*, to which all else is to be sacrificed. In pre-Reformation ages that doctrine was predominant; it governed the policy of statesmen as well as of churchmen, and was cunningly used to minister to the lust of power and wealth. How firmly it was rooted in the convictions of Europe is seen in the desperate resistance which it has offered, throughout the last four centuries, to the gradual progress of enlightened toleration.

"If you and I shall have contributed to this progress in however small a degree our labors will have had their abundant reward."

In an admirable summary of all the adverse criticism of Lea's reviewers Professor Cheyney has said:¹

"Yet sincerely as Mr. Lea tried to be impartial in his treatment of the men and institutions of the past, he has been subjected to serious criticism, principally from adherents of the Roman Catholic Church. He has been charged with interpreting medieval documents unfairly, giving

¹ Cheyney, E. P.: "On the Life and Works of Henry Charles Lea," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 50, No. 198, pp. 16-19.

undue credit to doubtful documents because they supported his views, and of allowing his general opposition to Catholicism to draw him into a partisan presentation of his subject. The changes have been rung on these charges in many different keys, but they are all reducible to three forms, unfair interpretation of the records, prejudiced acceptance of documents, and an anti-Catholic propaganda under the guise of history. Much of this criticism has been made by men of no standing in scholarship and may be safely disregarded as unimportant. On the other hand, such criticism as that of Dr. Blötzer, published in 1890 in the *Historisches Jahrbuch* of the *Görresgesellschaft*, that of Dr. Baumgarten in his book, *Henry Charles Lea's Historical Writings*, published in 1900, and the obituary essay of Alphandéry in the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* must be given the respect due to serious scholarly opinion. The validity of these criticisms can of course be tested only by scholars in the same field. But one or two general observations may be made concerning them. In so far as the statements refer to the validity or meaning of documents, that is a scholar's question, the kind of question that arises in all fields of investigation, that must always arise, and in which Mr. Lea would have been the first to disclaim for himself infallibility. One of the difficulties of such criticism, however, is shown by a curious slip made by one of Mr. Lea's most learned critics, Professor Baumgarten, of Munich. He endeavors to show at some length that Mr. Lea is mistaken in what he says of the medieval rules for keeping holy the Sabbath day. But Mr. Lea was speaking not of keeping the Sabbath, the first day of the week, but of the forbidden meeting of witches with the devil, which was known as the "witch Sabbat," and he was absolutely right in what he said. Professor Baumgarten is learned, but he does not happen to be learned in the history of witchcraft, where this expression belongs. As a further indication of the purely academic character of much of this criticism it may be remarked that a Catholic reviewer of Baumgarten's attack upon Mr. Lea,

while agreeing with him in this part of his work, proceeds to criticize Baumgarten's own work so severely as quite to take the edge off his harsh judgment of the American scholar.

"In answer to charges of bias, intentional partisanship or unfairness one can only cite Mr. Lea's own ideals and practices and the weight of opinion of thoughtful readers of his works. It is to be noted that many Catholic scholars are included among his unquestioning admirers, and all acknowledge the weight of his scholarship. The very latest criticism of an adverse nature closes by speaking of him as *ce bon ouvrier de vérité*, 'this good laborer for truth.' Mr. Lea himself could have wished for no better description.

"Even his severest Catholic critics have restricted their condemnation to a few parts of his work. There is not one of them that fails to bow to the extent, the depth, and the minuteness of his knowledge. One speaks of 'his welcome collection and exposition of important and universally interesting material for church history, grandiose capacity for labor, the use of inclusive and often obscure sources and works of literature;' another of 'the long and clear paths he has drawn through the masses of fact he has collected.'

"The truth is Mr. Lea keenly resented injustice, was shocked by unnecessary suffering and deplored waste. In ecclesiastical history he found much that seemed to him worthy of condemnation, and he condemned it often in unsparing terms, blaming freely men whose actions he thought wicked, and institutions which he thought conducive to the perpetuation of injustice and the infliction of undeserved suffering.

"Yet it is not the moral judgments that have most impressed scholars. It is the mass, solidity and originality of his knowledge, the minuteness of his research, and the extent of his production. . . . The extent of his investigation is indicated by thousands of references to works of the most technical and recondite character, in

at least seven languages; to manuscripts belonging to remote periods, in obscure localities, often by almost unknown authors, and difficult of access. In addition are numberless pencilled notes, comments and other evidences of use scattered through the books in his library."

As Professor Cheyney indicates, the most considerable and comprehensive of Lea's critics was Professor Paul Maria Baumgarten, whose *Henry Charles Lea's Historical Writings* appeared in an unsigned English translation in 1909. It includes extended treatment of four of Lea's principal works: *A History of Confession and Indulgences*, *A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain*, and *A Formulary of the Papal Penitentiary*. It is marked by a strongly restrained irritation which sometimes breaks unmistakably through the even surface of the writing. Each of his three charges, analyzed by Professor Cheyney, has been sufficiently discussed. Even Baumgarten was led to a grudging admission of the adequacy of Lea's preparation for his task when he said, "It must be admitted that the author has managed to provide himself with a much better knowledge on many points of Catholic doctrine and usages than is generally the case with non-Catholic historians." But apparently forgetting this admission, and with the churchman's almost instinctive distrust of criticism from the non-clerical, he reverses the decision a few pages further on:¹ "In Lea's writings we see it plainly demonstrated how it does not suffice to gather with a tremendous industry material, even most remote, but that sufficient theological learning is requisite to examine and use such material in a suitable, correct and unobjectionable manner." If

¹ Op cit., p. 40.

this latter judgment be valid, however, one can scarcely understand his admission¹ that "his works will undoubtedly be of the greatest advantage to future historians as a basis for their researches." Into such confusion of mind, one feels, he is thrown by a subtle resentment at any effort to interpret the less creditable aspects of the history of the Church. Thus not even the most learned of his adverse critics, prompted by religious zeal, was able to shake the solid foundation of Lea's works. So firmly were they established that they invited, in general, much less criticism than their subject matter would have led one to expect. On the other side is an array of scholars of the first prominence all over the world who amply justify the assumption that Lea's work is of enormous and enduring importance.

An English edition of *A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages* was published simultaneously with the American edition in 1888. A second American edition appeared in 1895. It was revised in an edition uniform with *A History of the Inquisition of Spain* in 1906. These two works, together with *The Inquisition in the Spanish Dependencies*, were reprinted in a uniform edition of eight volumes in 1922. *The Inquisition of the Middle Ages* was translated into French, German, and Italian.

The French translation² appeared in two volumes in 1901. It was made by the distinguished scholar Salomon Reinach, who was then French Minister of Public Instruction. Although he had won fame chiefly as an archæologist, M. Reinach was attracted to the translation of Lea because of his leadership among the French liberals of the

¹ Op cit., p. 11.

² See Bibliography.

day. His letter of July 18, 1899,¹ asking Lea's permission to publish the translation, reads in part, "Although I am very much engaged in archæological work, I feel disposed to undertake the translation of your monumental History because I think it is a citizen's duty to place such a rich storehouse of facts at the disposal of my fellow-countrymen." He desired to know whether translation rights had been granted and what royalty Lea would claim. The latter was naturally glad to have his book appear with such a favorable introduction in France, and communicated that fact to his publishers, saying,² "As there is nothing to prevent his translation, with or without permission, I would not take advantage of his ignorance of the law by asking a royalty. It would gratify me to have the work rendered accessible to Continental students, and I think you will agree with me that it may be of service to the book here by calling a little fresh attention to it." Harpers acquiesced, and Lea replied on August 3, giving Reinach the desired permission, and the liberty he had asked to condense, if he found it necessary. He added, "My only request would be that the tone of calm impartiality which I have endeavored to impress upon the work be retained. I think it vastly more convincing than eloquent rhetoric."

Although the work in France took on at once a political significance at a time when the anti-clerical movement was being actively fomented, it is not true, as the *New York Evening Post* stated,³ that Reinach was prompted to his task by the feeling of "a duty to perform for the

¹ Correspondence, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

² Lea to Harper & Brothers, July 29, 1899. Correspondence, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

³ December 4, 1900.

French public as consequence of the Dreyfus affair." This supposition, which was several times echoed in Continental reviews, Reinach emphatically denied in a letter to Lea, February 8, 1901.

His attention had been called to the work in an interesting manner, as he wrote Lea:¹ "What decided me upon translating it was a conversation with August Molinier, the brother of your correspondent,² and one of Zola's experts. He said he considered that your book was first rate, that there was nothing of the sort in any other literature, and strongly advised me to undertake the work."

In any case the translation was regarded as having great significance in France, in view of the growing anti-clerical feeling in French political life at the beginning of the century. Besides *The Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, M. Reinach also translated two articles of Lea, "An Anti-Masonic Mystification" and "The Dead Hand." Writing of the latter, January 27, 1901,³ M. Reinach drew Lea's attention to the fact that Waldeck-Rousseau, then Premier, had quoted portions of it in a political speech, and that the work on the Inquisition, also, had at once become source material for Liberal statesmen. M. Reinach wrote, "I sent you the number of the *Officiel* with Waldeck-Rousseau's speech, marking the passages which he cribbed from you. When he first read the proofs of the brochure (*La Main Morte*) he expressed the wish that the publication should be delayed, in order that he could freely use all that precious material. However, it was too late. In Brisson's speech, which came after Waldeck's, Vol. I of

¹ August 11, 1899. Correspondence, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

² Charles Molinier.

³ Correspondence, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

the *Inquisition* was freely used. I may hope that you shall find it natural to be thus used without being named; in such circumstances, quoting an American about European church matters would only weaken the case." This was an unexpected turn of affairs to the author of the works in question. As Weir Mitchell quaintly wrote him, "I conclude, Dear Sir, that this is a queer world. That you should make a French Premier's speech is almost too odd for credence. Thanks."

The incident, however, strongly harmonized with Lea's view of history as a dynamic, living thing, capable of presenting an interpretation of the past in terms of the problems of the present and the future. This is interestingly implied in his letters to Charles Eliot Norton¹ explaining what had happened to his works in France:

"Your kind note of the 6th has given me much pleasure. I long ago learned to content myself with the approbation of men like yourself, knowing that my works were addressed to scholars rather than to the public. Your remarks, however, lead me to say that just now I unexpectedly find those labors attracting popular attention. M. Salomon Reinach, whose distinction as an archæologist is doubtless familiar to you, took it into his head to translate my *Inquisition*, as a weapon in the struggle of the French Liberals against clericalism. The first volume appeared about three months ago at the very moderate price of 3 fr. 50c, in order that it might have a wide circulation. Volume II is in press, and I judge from M. Reinach's letter that he is abundantly satisfied thus far with the results of his enterprise.

"In the debate on the Law of Associations the other day, the Abbé Gayraud quoted me as saying that the

¹ Correspondence, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania, February 11 and 18, 1901.

Inquisition was a necessary evolution, and today I get a copy of *La Petite République* with a furious article directed against him, and showing from my book that it was the crimes of the church that rendered such an evolution necessary.

"Last spring, apropos of the Philippines, I printed a little pamphlet entitled 'The Dead Hand' epitomizing the action of Catholic states with regard to property in mortmain. This M. Reinach has translated. The *Siècle* devoted three or four columns to an abstract of it by Yves Guyot, and M. Waldeck-Rousseau, in his great speech in defence of the Law of Associations, utilized a portion of the materials from it.

"Then in the December *Lippincott* I had a little article on the relations of the Church with Freemasonry¹ and the horrible mystification which Léo Taxil kept up for ten or twelve years with his awful revelations. This M. Reinach tells me he has translated, and I expect in a week or two to receive a copy. It seems odd that in a matter almost exclusively Parisian, Paris should come to America for information.

"I rather hesitate to bore you with all these details, but I am so surprised at finding myself a factor, even in an infinitesimal degree, in French politics that I may be pardoned for thinking they may interest you."

Professor Norton answered, expressing his satisfaction at the practical and immediate application of his friend's scholarship, and requesting permission to prepare a note on the matter for the *Nation*. Lea replied:

"I see no reason why you should not, if so disposed, make the little note you speak of for the *Nation*. At the same time it would be advisable to say nothing that if sent back to Paris might in any way interfere with M.

¹ "An Anti-Masonic Mystification," *Lippincott's Magazine*, 1900, 60, 948-960.

Reinach's labors and his relations with Waldeck-Rousseau, which I suspect are tolerably close.

"He writes me quite enthusiastically as to the progress of his propaganda and the attention which his work is exciting. It is all very strange to me that my quiet labors should be so utilized. In a recent letter he alludes to the meager official manuals of history used in the Lycées, . . . so that even very educated people . . . discover the history of their ancestors in the translation of an American book! And Professor Paul Frédéricq writes me from Ghent: 'En Belgique et en France, la presse quotidienne s'est beaucoup occupée de la traduction Française de votre premier volume. Les journalistes cléricaux sont furieux et jettent feu et flammes. Que c'est bizarre pour un livre si calme.'

"Even the little Taxil pamphlet M. Reinach tells me is in eager demand. I must have builded better than I knew, for no one can be more surprised than I at all this."

M. Reinach had also said, in the letter to which Lea referred, something which he did not repeat to Professor Norton: "You have that in common with Diana Vaughan, that some people question your existence, and have asked me if I adopt an imaginary name to publish books on religion. *Domine non sum dignus!*"

The French liberals continued for several years to employ *The Inquisition of the Middle Ages* in their program of anti-clerical education. In 1905 M. Reinach wrote Lea describing the work of the *Société Anonyme de Propagande*, which published at Brussels the *Bibliothèque de Propagande*, a series of pamphlets appearing twice a month, devoted to the liberalizing of French opinion. The project was in part financed by the French Liberals, and the publications, prepared as inexpensively as possible, secured wide circulation at the price of 20 to 30 centimes a copy.

M. Reinach informed Lea that they proposed that year to prepare in this form five pamphlets reproducing various sections of his translation of Lea's work. The author replied,¹ asking that copies be sent him, and remarking, "It gives me sensible pleasure to see the use made of my book, although I never had anything of the kind in view in my writing and have been specially anxious to preserve a purely scientific and impartial attitude." The series of reprints was begun, as has been intimated, with five pamphlets, in 1905. It continued for three years, during which twenty-one different numbers were issued.² These have been regarded as exercising a very strong influence in the development of anti-clericalism in France.

A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages was translated also into German and Italian. The appearance of the French translation had at once drawn fresh attention to the work in Germany, and its author received in the same week two requests for permission to translate it into German. The first was from Rudolf Blaedel, the publisher, of Stuttgart, who proposed to find a capable scholar for the task; but before Lea had time to reply to this letter, he received a communication from Professor Joseph Hansen, then *Archivdirektor* of the University of Cologne.³ Professor Hansen wrote that he had the promise of the collaboration of Professor Herman Haupt of the University of Giessen. Lea could have hoped for no more able translators than these scholars, and he replied to Professor Hansen granting the desired permission. The

¹ September 18, 1905. Correspondence, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

² For a descriptive list, see Bibliography.

³ April 3, 1901. Correspondence, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

work was at once undertaken, but it became impossible for Professor Haupt to render as much assistance as he had expected. Two other historians, Professors Heinz Wiek and Max Rachel, were therefore asked to assist, and Professor Haupt, although he apparently rendered valuable assistance,¹ especially with the second and third volumes, did not permit his name to appear on the title page. The first volume was published at Bonn, July, 1905, as translated by Professors Wiek and Rachel, "supervised by Professor Joseph Hansen;" the work was completed in two additional volumes in 1913. The first volume had as Preface a German translation of the essay which had been written by Professor Frédéricq as an introduction to Reinach's French translation. The use of this essay was especially appropriate, since it was Professor Frédéricq who had first suggested to Professor Hansen the idea of preparing the German translation.² The appearance of the work in German again directed critical attention to it, and was the occasion for many reviews, both in German and in English.

The Italian translation was a single volume abridgment begun in 1909, with Lea's permission, by Professor Domenico Battaini, of Mendrisio, Switzerland. It was completed, however, by Signorina Pia Cremonini, and published at Turin in 1910.³

The consideration of these translations has carried us a score of years beyond the completion of the original work in English. It was a period of great accomplishment

¹ Correspondence, Lea and Hansen, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

² Correspondence, Hansen to Lea, April 3, 1901, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

³ See Bibliography.

in the life of the historian, a time of unabated ardor and energy, and the fruition of years of earlier investigation. Before *The Inquisition of the Middle Ages* was completely in print he was already eager to begin the next work at hand, for he wrote Lecky on December 14, 1887, when only the first volume had been published, "With care I think I may reasonably anticipate being able to utilize the next ten years which I assume will be necessary for the concluding portion of my work. I earnestly hope so, for there are many more things I want to say, and I have a large collection of material which I want to use." The use he made of the "large collection of material" ultimately filled ten volumes and also reflected itself in many important articles which appeared in rapid succession from his prolific pen. It was a period of serene and satisfying creativeness, such as is very seldom granted to any man between the ages of sixty-three and eighty-four. He labored exceedingly at the tasks he found to do, but his pleasure in them was extreme. As he wrote Frédéricq,¹ concerning the revision of the latter's introductory essay for the French translation, "Kindly *dele* 'au prix d'efforts et de sacrifices.' I have simply indulged what in English we call my 'hobby.'" This was his attitude throughout the last score of his years. We shall now examine their achievement.

¹ August 20, 1900. Correspondence, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

CHAPTER VIII

THE FULL TIDE

HENRY CHARLES LEA advanced in years; he did not decline. His last nineteen years were the richest in their product. Six new published works in eleven volumes, all based on exact scholarship, as well as his thirty-four published articles and his many reviews indicate the fertility of these years. The tireless, aging scholar was still working with unabated ardor on his "Witchcraft," his last project, when he was stricken, four days before his death.

As has been stated, *The Inquisition of the Middle Ages* was but the first part of the project for a complete history of the Inquisition in every land. The next logical subject was the Inquisition of Spain. Early in the course of his researches for the Middle Ages he had begun to assemble materials for the Spain. Having repeatedly informed his many correspondents of his intentions, he had slowly acquired information concerning the surviving records, until, when *The Inquisition of the Middle Ages* was published in 1887, he already had well-matured plans for its sequel, knew where to find his valuable sources, and how to obtain access to them. It is interesting to trace, in his voluminous correspondence during this score of succeeding years, the historian's rigid adherence to the central quest.

This point must be emphasized, because the reader of a chronological list of Lea's works during this time would presumably derive little sense of the centrality of purpose

which actuated him. Between *The Inquisition of the Middle Ages* of 1888 and *The Inquisition of Spain* of 1906-1907 appeared four major works in six volumes. However, they are all to be regarded, as his correspondence conclusively shows, as by-products of his labors on the central theme of his researches. Four separate times he found himself with well-developed materials that had no place in the work which he had ultimately in view. In spite of his reluctance to postpone his major achievement when he knew that the remainder of his days could not at best be long, he each time turned all of his restless vigor upon the new task that he had conceived. In 1890 appeared *Chapters from the Religious History of Spain*; in 1892, *A Formulary of the Papal Penitentiary*; in 1896, the three-volume *History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences*; in 1901, *The Moriscos of Spain*. No more striking instance than this could be given of his courage and scholarly integrity in fulfilling the task he had undertaken.

The first evidence of his realization that his researches in the field of the Spanish Inquisition were to be thus interrupted occurs in a letter to Professor Frédéricq, dated January 21, 1889.¹ He had been for a year immersed in new transcripts of records of the Spanish Inquisition from Seville, Madrid, and the rich archives of Alcalá; from South America, Germany and the Netherlands; and the task had assumed gigantic proportions, even in his energetic mind. He wrote Professor Frédéricq:

"That unlucky confusion of Babel is peculiarly hard on those who attempt to cover so wide a field as mine, and I confess that I grudge the time and labor spent on acquiring a language, which might be so much more fruit-

¹ Correspondence, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

fully spent in research. Spain itself will occupy me for some years to come, for the further I advance the more illimitable seem to become the questions to be considered and the mass of material to be sifted and digested. It is difficult moreover to avoid being tempted from the main road into by-paths. There are many subsidiary subjects which deserve a fuller treatment than can be given them in a comprehensive narrative, and I think I may try to get rid of them by issuing in advance a little volume of essays or monographs.

The monographs referred to began to take shape at once, and three of the five which ultimately composed the *Chapters* appeared in the next few months in various magazines. The first of them, "Brianda de Bardaxi," was published in February, 1889, in the *Atlantic Monthly*, though the editor, Thomas Bailey Aldrich, had the previous November returned to Lea an article on torture with the comment that he admired it, but that it was "too horrible" for his readers. The article on Brianda de Bardaxi, which was the account of an instance of persecution of suspected Jews by the Inquisition, elicited a letter of praise from Lecky, to which Lea replied:¹

"There was something so typical in the case of Brianda de Bardaxi that a plain unvarnished account of it seems to me worth setting before the public. As you suggest, it is not always easy to restrain the expression of one's feelings at these cold-blooded and wanton outrages, but I strive to look upon all that comes before me in a purely judicial spirit. I have just read proof of an article which I suppose will appear in the *Historical Review* for April on 'El Santo Niño de la Guardia,' which I think you will find a curious study in mythology as well as in persecution."

¹ March 8, 1889. Correspondence, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

The essay on El Santo Niño, printed in *The English Historical Review* for April, 1889, is a vivid narrative of the persecution and intermittent torture for years of eight Jewish converts who were accused of back-sliding, and of crucifying a Christian child. Under the persistent suggestions of Torquemada's torturers they were all brought to confess to somewhat similar stories, but the fact of their innocence was indicated in the inability of the inquisitors to discover any victim or to establish his name. Since a child slain by Jews had to be canonized, this hypothetical martyr came down in tradition and Church records simply as "El Santo Niño de la Guardia," in reference to the place of his supposed martyrdom. Lea's essay is a plain narrative of inhuman cruelty and superstition, all the more dramatic for its unadorned simplicity, and one of the best examples of his style. It forms the fourth essay of the *Chapters*.

Besides these two, there appeared in print the same year two other articles on Spanish subjects, neither of which was included in the volume subsequently issued. "The Martyrdom of San Pedro Arbues" had been read as part of the program of the American Historical Association meeting at Washington, December 26-28, 1888. "Indulgences in Spain" appeared in the first volume (1889) of the *Papers of the American Society of Church History*.

Early in 1890, in *The Journal of American Folk Lore*, Lea first published the third of the essays which were to form parts of his *Chapters from the Religious History of Spain* of that year. This was "The Endemoniadas of Queretaro," a rather amusing account of an epidemic of demons in 1691 at Queretaro, illustrating the predicament in which the Church was often placed by its postulation

in those days of the theory of possession by demons and by the privilege of exorcism then granted to certain lesser orders of the clergy.

Although he undoubtedly enjoyed writing these studies, Lea regarded them as interruptions, however pleasant. This is implied in the tone of his first letter¹ to Professor George Lincoln Burr, with whom he this year began a warm friendship. In part he wrote:

"Your interesting paper on the Literature of Witchcraft I have found very instructive. It will prove of much assistance to me if I shall live long enough to complete my book and bring it down to modern times, as I hope to. The prospect of accomplishing it, however, steadily vanishes in the distance the further I go. I had made some progress with the Spanish Inquisition when I got switched off on some collateral topics, the result of which I hope to send you in a few weeks in a volume now in the hands of the binder, consisting of essays, one of which, on the Spanish mystics, may perhaps have some interest for you as illustrating a phase of superstition not many degrees removed scientifically from the subjects of your studies. Having relieved myself of this, I am just now engrossed with investigations into the origin and development of indulgences, including confession, absolution, purgatory, etc., which I find a subject of vastly greater dimensions than I imagined when I rashly ventured on it. There is so much to do, and I feel as though I had so few years before me to do it in, that I despair of accomplishing all that I had hoped."

This letter indicates the beginning of the investigation of confession and indulgences which broke off from the main body of work as a separate three-volume history six years later. It also mentions one of the two previously unpub-

¹ August 25, 1890. Correspondence, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

lished essays in the *Chapters from the Religious History of Spain*. This was "Mystics and Illuminati," a study of the cult of mysticism in sixteenth and seventeenth century Spain, together with its abuse by impostors and its persecution by the Inquisition. The other essay which appeared for the first time in this volume was the initial study, called "Censorship of the Press." This subject, so intimately associated with the human struggle for freedom of thought and expression, was of the highest interest to Lea, and his treatment of it resulted in the most considerable essay in the volume. From the sporadic appearances of censorship during the Middle Ages he traces its gradual formalization under the Spanish Inquisition of the sixteenth century, emphasizing as crucial the strife of the Church with Erasmus and the Spanish Erasmists. He then traces the struggle to suppress the vernacular scriptures and enforce an authorized version; the development of the *Index Expurgatorius*; the coöperation between the Church and the State in censorship; the influence of censorship on Spanish religion, philosophy and literature; and finally, the decline of censorship.

Chapters from the Religious History of Spain, with its five essays which have been described, was offered to Harpers on March 19, 1890, and published by them in August. It attracted wide attention, not only for the interest of its materials, but also because scholars admired the succinct exhaustiveness and effective writing in this volume. As Professor Frédéricq wrote,¹

"Je suis de nouveau frappé par l'abondance des matériaux absolument neufs que vous avez si bien mis en oeuvre.

¹ September 20, 1890. Correspondence, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

C'est vraiment prodigieux. Comment, au delà de l'Atlantique, cela vous est-il possible? C'est à croire que la sorcellerie s'en mêle. Si vous viviez encore au temps de l'Inquisition, on vous poursuivrait non seulement à cause des idées émises dans vos livres, mais encore à cause de la manière incompréhensible dont vous parvenez à vous en procurer les matériaux.

At this time, intent as he was on the furthering of his research, Lea found it increasingly difficult to guard his leisure and secure himself against a world which was paying considerable attention to his work. Although it was intended for a special audience, *The Inquisition of the Middle Ages* had attracted the same group of readers in every country, and everywhere elicited the same discriminating confidence. Its author found himself possessed at once of an international reputation, and anything that he published was certain thereafter to attract world-wide attention. The work had gained attention not only because of its intrinsic merits, but also because he had courageously accomplished an investigation so difficult that European scholarship, as stated hereafter, had regarded it as a task that must be deferred far into the future, until many special studies had cleared the ground for its comprehensive treatment. Its sudden appearance as the work of a scholar but little known abroad had evoked as much amazement as admiration. With one sweep the American had cleared the ground that a score of prominent Europeans were working, and had erected thereon a solid superstructure which they had expected would take years more for them to build. No better account of the effect of Lea's book on European scholars can be given than that in the "Prefatory Essay" which

Paul Frédéricq contributed to the French translation of 1901, which later appeared in German as the "Introduction" to the German translation.

After a survey of the attempts from earliest days to write the history of the Inquisition, and some discussion of the shortcomings of the earlier efforts, Frédéricq states that in recent times the conviction had grown that a complete treatment would prove futile or premature until a great deal of preliminary work had been done. He continues:

"When in 1881 Charles Molinier composed the advertisement for his critical book concerning the known and unknown sources for the study of the Inquisition in southern France, he began: 'Today historians distrust polite assertions, and in no department of history have we so many just grounds for distrust as here. It would seem to us best to adopt a somewhat partial method and first of all to begin with a series of monographs on various realms of the history of the Inquisition. . . . Then, perhaps, but certainly not before, when the ground is thus cleared, one can go on to the authoritative and complete work, the difficulties of which we have just now intimated.' As to this 'complete work, which could properly bear the title of a *History of the Inquisition*,' Molinier presumed unhesitatingly, that, at present, 'it would be a chimerical undertaking.'

"At the very time Molinier was writing this, with which his European readers agreed unanimously, on the other side of the Atlantic a courageous and persevering sage had been for years assembling by his own unaided efforts a library and a rich store of the obscure sources of the history of the Inquisition. Without shrinking from this overwhelming task, he had availed himself of all accessible published works, and had investigated an enormous quantity of authentic manuscript sources which he had had the

skill to procure through correspondence with the custodians of archives. In August, 1887, he completed at Philadelphia the three stately volumes of his astonishing work, which in 1888, under the title *A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, by Henry Charles Lea, appeared in New York. The author was then sixty-three years old, and had been able to devote only a few hours of each day to his beloved study. The bulk of his time belonged to his business. Until 1880 he had conducted a great publishing house.

"When the trans-Atlantic steamer had brought this work to Europe and the three impressive volumes appeared on the desks of historical investigators, one observed at first, entirely naturally, a sense of doubt and distrust. . . . Soon, however, the books of the American were read and at once valued at their true worth. I know that Molinier was one of the first whom this masterpiece amazed. His acceptance portended the same recognition from all those special investigators who had at first suspiciously shaken their heads."

This sincere appreciation expressed by scholars abroad had its natural reaction in exciting popular curiosity at home. Lea was assailed with numerous and persistent requests to speak in public. Some of these invitations were tempting: requests to appear as lecturer at the University of Pennsylvania, at Harvard, at Haverford College, at Princeton, and at the Hartford Theological Seminary, where he was asked to deliver the annual series of Carew Lectures, "any time in the next three years." All of these offers he reluctantly declined, feeling that he had barely time, at his age, to complete the tasks which he had already undertaken. More annoying were the many overtures from persons and organizations which he denominated "Protestant cranks," who wanted him to supply

something sensational in the way of anti-Catholic propaganda. Some of these requests were from organizations concerned with what they believed the danger of Catholic interference in contemporary American politics. Many, however, came from individuals, generally charlatans, who for personal gain were preying on current ignorance and fears. For many months he was persistently persecuted by correspondence from an individual who engaged in the sale of sensational pamphlets devoted to the horrors of the torture chamber and the supposed menace of secret Catholic schemes directed against the American polity. This propagandist wished to secure his coöperation in the preparation of his publications and his support in the opening at Washington of an exhibition of replicas of instruments of the torture chamber. It was difficult for Lea to establish in the popular mind the fact that he was not the protagonist of a "cause," but a historian of fact.

On three occasions in 1890 he departed from his usual principle and wrote articles in a more popular vein. "Keynotes from Rome," published in the *Forum*, and "Catholicism and Politics," in the New York *Evening Post* were quietly received. The third, however, stirred up a considerable, if temporary, controversy. This was his article in the *Independent*, "Is there a Roman Catholic Church? An Excursus in Scholastic Theology." It was reprinted in a few months in *Christian Literature*, and subsequently widely circulated as a brochure. The article was a somewhat fantastic *jeu d'esprit*, which the author did not expect to be taken seriously. Adopting the manner of scholastic argument, he built up a logical thesis to demonstrate that the Catholic Church did not exist. The gist of the argument was that the Doctrine of Intentions

must by this time have extinguished the Church. Since the ministrant's intention and belief are essential to the validity of the sacraments, and especially baptism and ordination, the continuity of orthodox intention and belief is essential to the continuity of the Church itself. He continued that the probability was further increased by the fact that the doctrine was not promulgated until the thirteenth century, and that it was almost impossible to believe that somewhere in the line of succession, either before or since the promulgation of the doctrine, there was not some bishop or priest whose wavering of intention or belief would have broken the divine chain and invalidated the entire succession. The author was amazed at the number of Catholic critics who took his argument seriously, and lacked the sense to discern the humorous spirit which had actuated his effort.

The attention which had been accorded his recent works caused editors to wish his contributions as reviewer. Requests of this nature poured in on him. He persisted, however, in his determination to review only such works as lay so directly in his field that it was incumbent on him to read them in any case; and most of the requests for reviews he refused. The remainder comprised, during the last score of his years, a large number of books of the first importance, reviewed in the historical periodicals, in the *Nation*, the *Forum*, the *New York Evening Post* and other leading publications. Several foreign periodicals attempted at this time to secure his services as American correspondent. The most flattering of these requests came from his friend, the Italian historian, Pasquale Villari, who wrote him as representative of the *Archivio Storico Italiano*, the leading historical periodical of Italy. But even this

offer he felt obliged to decline. In spite of his modest character, the scholarly recognition of his labor began to increase rapidly at this time. Before his death he held membership in more than thirty learned bodies throughout the world.¹ In November, 1889, he was elected a Corresponding Fellow of the Bavarian Akademie des Wissenschafts, in Munich. In the next month the American Academy of Political and Social Science was founded, largely through the efforts of Lea's friend, Professor Edmund J. James of the University of Pennsylvania, later President of Northwestern University, and still later President of the University of Illinois. Lea was elected an honorary Vice-President of the organization, which now, after forty years of distinguished service to scholarship, has 9000 members throughout the world and publishes its important bi-monthly *Annals*. In 1890 he was elected Vice-President of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and in June of that year, he went to the Commencement Exercises of Harvard University to receive the honorary degree of LL.D. The latter honor had been offered him several times before, but he had consistently refused to hazard his limited strength in a long journey for the sake of a purely personal recognition. In 1890, however, he had taken a cottage for the summer at Little Boar's Head, New Hampshire, whence the journey to Cambridge was easily accomplished. Here, as a guest of another old friend, Rev. Dr. Andrew Preston Peabody, Plummer Professor of Christian Morals at Harvard, he again met President Eliot, who had been a correspondent, at intervals, for several years.

His correspondence with foreign scholars steadily increased. In 1890 he had the sad duty of writing the obit-

¹ For a list, see Appendix.

uary notice for the *Nation* of Professor Döllinger, who had been one of his most valuable German correspondents for several years; but in the same year he began fruitful correspondence with two other German scholars: Professor Camillo Henner of Prague, and Professor Edouard Boehmer of Baden, the foremost German historian of Spanish subjects. In the early nineties he became well acquainted with several younger American scholars in his field: with Professor George Lincoln Burr, who had sent him a paper on the literature of witchcraft in 1889, and with others who were likewise to win established places among the foremost scholars, such as Professor Edward Potts Cheyney, Professor Dana C. Munro, Professor James Harvey Robinson and Professor Arthur C. Howland.

Notwithstanding his growing reputation, Lea was surprised to find himself included in a list of "Forty Immortals" in an article of that title in the *New York Critic* of August, 1890. An interesting episode resulted. In the succeeding number of the *London Speaker*, Edmund Gosse undertook to criticize the selection of names in the *Critic*, saying, among other things that Henry C. Lea was "totally unknown" to him. Lea's reaction was characteristic. He wrote at once to Gosse:¹

"The *New York Critic* reprints your article in the *Speaker* on its so-called 'Forty Immortals,' from which I learn that I have the misfortune to be unknown to you. Desiring to relieve myself from this unhappy position and for want of a better card of introduction, I instruct my publisher to send you a copy of a volume of mine which is on the eve of appearance."²

¹ September 10, 1890. Correspondence, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

² *Chapters from the Religious History of Spain.*

"The field of literature is wide, and lack of omniscience as to the whole of it is no discredit to any man. Our spheres of labor have lain far apart, and I might be puzzled if catechised too closely as to your productions. Yet there may be regions common to us both, and possibly the volume I send may possess points of interest to you."

Gosse's reply was a courteous apology, as one would expect. He wrote on September 26:

"I am justly reprov'd for my flippant confession of ignorance by your letter of the 10th inst. I look forward to the arrival of the volume you are so courteous as to promise me with great pleasure. Be kind enough to accept my thanks for it, and to believe that I am sincerely sorry for having so gratuitously and thoughtlessly given you pain."

In the letter to Professor Burr quoted above,¹ Lea spoke of being led from his central subject to a study of the history of confession and indulgences. This study was to culminate five years later in a three-volume work. Meanwhile, it bore fruit almost at once in his monograph, *The Absolution Formula of the Templars*, one of his three historical monographs of 1891; and in a one volume work which has proved of great and enduring value to historians, *A Formulary of the Papal Penitentiary*, 1892.

This is an edition, with introductory essay, of a manuscript which he had acquired in purchasing documents for the study of the Spanish Inquisition. He describes it as follows:²

"It comes to me from Mr. Albert Cohn, bookseller in Berlin, who can tell me nothing of its *provenance* save that it formed part of a purchase made in Italy in 1889.

¹ Page 282.

² Introduction, p. xxxvii.

It occurs at the end of a volume entitled '*Forme curie romane super beneficiis et questionibus*,' and consists of fifty unnumbered pages on fine vellum. The general character of its calligraphy will be seen in the facsimile¹ of the page containing the last column of the table and the first of the text. Two scribes have been employed on the work, the latter and greater portion being in a closer and less legible hand than the first. The most probable identification that I can make of the compiler is to ascribe it to Jacobus Thomasius Gaetanus, a nephew of Boniface VIII, who was cardinal priest of St. Clement from 1295 to 1300."

Earlier in the Introduction the author has further described the document: "In considering the records of the 'Formulary' it must be borne in mind that they are not to be regarded as mere isolated cases. The collection is evidently a careful selection by a cardinal of formulas to serve as guides and precedents for practical use, and they are therefore to be considered as authoritative sentences on the principal subjects which habitually came before the Penitentiary for action and decision." By internal evidence Lea places all of the cases cited in the "Formulary" in the second quarter of the thirteenth century. He therefore accepts it as a representative picture of the Papal Penitentiary in its thirteenth century development and bases upon it certain conclusions as to the effect of the institution on the evolution of society. As he says in the Preface, "I have met with few medieval documents which have seemed to me so instructive in so many ways. The three hundred and fifty-eight cases here reported afford us vivid glimpses into the inner life alike of ecclesiastics and laymen in the thirteenth century and into the

¹ See Plate.

curious standard of morals erected by the Church. We see here at work some of the forces which moulded the social organization of pre-Reformation Europe and obtain some materials for estimating the degree in which the Church advanced or retarded the progress of civilization." The "Introduction" of thirty-eight pages is a detailed account, premised upon typical cases in the *Formulary*, of the evils resulting from the growing powers of the Papal Penitentiary, which slowly increased its jurisdiction throughout all Christendom and abrogated the authority of local ecclesiastical powers, while it offered absolution for almost all offenses to evil-doers of every description and from every quarter, at the simple cost of penance, conformity and a fee. The resulting demoralization within and without the Church is vividly sketched, with rich citation of parallel instances and quotations from other sources.

It was while he was working on the *Formulary* that Lea was asked to serve as the representative from Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware, on the Commission to organize the "Historical American Exposition" held at Madrid in 1892. Although it involved some responsibility, Lea accepted the appointment because of his increasing interest in Spanish affairs. In the same month, after twice refusing, he accepted appointment as Honorary American President of the newly-founded Wyclif Society, of which Professor Furnivall, who had especially urged his acceptance, was English President. It was also in 1892, in April, that Edmund Stewardson completed a bust of the historian. He had at first rather brusquely refused to sit for the study, which the Board of Managers of the Library Company of Philadelphia, in recognition of his

many years of service and benevolence, desired to have made of him. Reconsidering his decision a few days later, he wrote Mr. Ellis Yarnall, chairman of the committee appointed to gain his consent:¹

"I have so rooted a dislike of everything savoring of ostentation or self-glorification that the proposition to place a bust of me in the Library excited at the moment a strong sentiment of dissent, which I fear expressed itself in a manner showing too little appreciation of the kindly purpose that prompted the suggestion. I have been feeling a trifle self-condemned ever since, for I need hardly say how much I value the friendly appreciation of the gentlemen who started the matter, and it seems to me that the best amends I can make is to say to you that I am at your service."

The bust was sculptured in marble. Three years later the excellent portrait in oil was painted by R. W. Vonnoh.² The original is in the Lea Library of the University of Pennsylvania. Copies by H. H. Breckenridge are in the halls of the American Philosophical Society and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. A posthumous bust in bronze by Charles Grafty is in the Lea Library of the University of Pennsylvania, in the reading room of the Library Company of Philadelphia, and in the hall of the Henry Charles Lea School. All are casts from the same original.

New recognition came to him in 1893. He was requested by the American Historical Association to read a paper as part of their program at the International Congress of Historical Writers, held at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago, but this distinction he declined, not wishing to lose the time necessary for the trip. In February he was

¹ January 8, 1892. Correspondence, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

² See Frontispiece.

very much gratified by a letter from his friend, Count Ugo Balzani, then President of the Reale Societa Romana di Storia Patria, informing him that he had been elected a member at the meeting in January, and that formal notification waited only on the presentation of his name to the King by the Minister of Public Instruction, Pasquale Villari, then another of his correspondents. Balzani wrote further, "At present there are only three other members of the *lingua anglica* in our Society, namely, Mr. James Bryce, Bishop Creighton, and Mr. Hodgkin, the author of *Italy and Her Invaders*. It is an honor and a pleasure for me that this recognition of your great historical merits should have come while I am presiding over this Society."¹ The official notification followed in due course, and Lea was pleased by the demonstration of the acceptability of his researches by scholars in the very heart of Catholicism.

Another tribute of a scholarly character followed in May, when Dr. George E. Fisher, Professor of Mathematics at the University of Pennsylvania, notified him that he had been elected to honorary membership in the chapter of Phi Beta Kappa, which had just been established at that University.

Work went on without cessation, as the correspondence of this period amply shows. Copyists in Spain, Germany, the Netherlands, Italy and South America were kept constantly busy with new requirements; the voluminous correspondence with scholars was continued, and new hints as to the possible location of materials reached the American frequently through the offices of sympathetic workers abroad. His replies indicate the two absorptions of the

¹ February 8, 1893. Correspondence, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

period: the constant accumulation of materials for the history of the Spanish Inquisition, and the shaping of the materials at hand into the subsidiary work on *Confession and Indulgences*. Frequently he lamented the interruption of the major by the demands of the minor work, but they were demands so insistent that he felt obliged to satisfy them. Occasionally another important name appears among the correspondents; for example, a long and valuable relationship was begun by a letter from Professor Paul Sabatier, dated January 10, 1894, in which the French scholar expressed the highest admiration of *The Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, and asked permission to send Lea his own new *La Vie de S. François d'Assise*.

The letters of Lea at this period are peculiarly revelatory of the man and his work. No critic of his historical writings has taken sufficiently into account his versatile knowledge of the original literature of the Middle Ages, but in fact he was frequently indebted to his voluminous reading of these works and his off-hand familiarity with them. In view of this, his letter to Professor Norton of November 11, 1892, is especially significant:¹

"I ought before now to have thanked you for the *Paradise*, which you have rendered so truthfully and gracefully, and now I am under special obligations for *The New Life*. I say special obligations, because in a somewhat miscellaneous course of reading I have never happened to look into either it or the *Convito*, and your volume gives me in the most agreeable form the opportunity of penetrating the arcana of the first and of forming some acquaintance with the second. Your exposition is exceedingly clear and interesting—so much so, in fact,

¹ Correspondence, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

that I suspect few of your readers will imagine how much labor and insight it must have required.

"Even Dante need not feel ashamed to owe something to the seraphic soul of St. Francis, whose verses I believe are the earliest that have reached us in the vulgar tongue of Italy, and in reading your *Essays* I could not help fancying a similarity between his mystical identification of Love and Religion and Dante's of Love and Philosophy. Do you remember his *Cantico Secundo*, beginning

In foco amor mi mise
Lo mio sposo novello,
Quando l'anel mi mise
L'agnello amorosello;
Poi in prigion mi mise
Ferito d'un coltello;
Tutto 'l cor mi dinise;
In foco amor mi mise.

"An investigation of the relationship would perhaps repay its trouble.

"I must not forget to say how much pleasure your letter of October 12th gave me. Dante affords such a mine of indignation against ecclesiastical and papal abuses that it is hard to exhaust. I have frequently had occasion to quote him in this regard, and I am glad to have your reference for future use."

Apparently by 1892 he had assembled nearly all of the materials and sources for the *History of Confession and Indulgences*; the task of the next three years was their assimilation into a well-planned work of three large volumes. For he wrote, on December 11, 1892, to Lecky:¹

"I have been going through a course of reading for the last year or two which brings strongly before me the wonderful hold which Catholic superstitions have on the average man. The numberless methods which have been

¹ Correspondence, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

invented to smooth the path to Heaven are almost incredible, and their grossness passes belief. I have often asked myself whether it is possible that human beings can honestly believe that they hold so completely in their hands the destiny of their fellow creatures' souls, but I really see no reason to doubt it. The origin and gradual evolution of these dogmas has been a most interesting study—desperately intricate at times in the mazes of scholastic theology. I am beginning to see my way through them, and if I am able to coördinate clearly the vast material that I have collected I think the result will be serviceable. It is the toughest piece of work that I ever undertook.

“Meanwhile I am gathering together Mss. and documents for the continuation of my history of the Inquisition, which I hope I may live long enough to complete. It will be a holiday task in comparison with the labors I have been enduring among the fathers and the schoolmen and the theologians, tracing the development of confession and absolution and indulgences and the numberless practices to which they gave rise.”

Perhaps the most notable characteristic of this, as of other letters, is their optimistic expectation of long life. Here was a man approaching seventy with increasing vigor of mind and with constantly more ambitious plans for his future work. There is, to be sure, an occasional reference to the possibility of not finishing what he has undertaken, as in the letter to Lecky just quoted, but more frequently the note struck is that of the next letter to the same correspondent on April 23, 1893,¹ in which he says:

“I am very glad to hear that you have another book in contemplation. Do not be afraid of its possible size and requirements in the way of time for preparation. In

¹ Correspondence, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

A.D. 1300 Dante may have been justified as regarding fifty-five as a limit for commencing new enterprises, but a life insurance company that should sell annuities based on the fourteenth century expectation of life would soon be in the bankruptcy court. Here I am at sixty-eight, after a life of valetudinarianism, and never feeling certain as to my condition from day to day, with more work before me than I ever had before, and fully hoping to accomplish it, or at least to die in the harness. My father lived to be ninety-five, in full possession of his faculties, and I should be very sorry to think that I should emulate his longevity if I have not the power and the disposition to work. Keep yourself busy, I beg of you, and let the ultimate result take care of itself."

Certainly this physician took his own medicine cheerfully. From the publication of the *Formulary of the Papal Penitentiary* in 1892 until *Confession and Indulgences* appeared in 1896 his work was constant, coördinated and increasingly arduous. Besides book reviews to the number of eight or ten a year, he wrote twelve articles and monographs of major importance as by-products of his work on the two big books in hand. Six of these articles were preliminary studies of topics which were to receive different treatment in the *History of Confession and Indulgences*, and their titles in most cases indicate their subjects: "The Taxes of the Papal Penitentiary;" "The Spanish Inquisition as an Alienist," a popular article for *Appleton's*; "The Ecclesiastical Treatment of Usury;" "Occult Compensation;" "Philosophical Sin;" and "Positivist Criminology."

The relation of these essays to the major work is indicated by references to three of them in letters to Lecky:¹

¹ May 6 and November 15, 1894. Correspondence, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

"I remember with much interest your account of the change in the view taken of usury, though I did not refer to it (in 'The Ecclesiastical Treatment of Usury') because in the work I have in hand I want to rely exclusively on Catholic authorities. My little paper on the subject, as well as another on 'Occult Compensation,' which I sent you a few days since, are outgrowths from my book on Confession, utilizing material for which it affords insufficient space. The modern Catholic theories of morals are very remarkable, I think little understood outside the circle of the faithful. I have been much interested and a good deal surprised in tracing their development."

In the next letter six months later, he added:

"My little article on crime ('Positivist Criminology') was the outcome of my investigation into the moral influence of the confession. To ascertain what conclusions could be drawn from the criminal experience of the different nations I gathered together a number of recent books and after getting what I could out of them for my special purpose, I was led to put together some account of the speculations of the positivist criminologists, which struck me as curious and interesting, though not practical. One thing impressed me greatly—that religion seems to have vastly less influence over morality than we are accustomed to assign to it."

It is interesting to observe that the attitude of editors toward the articles of Lea was changing. While a few years previously he frequently had articles returned because editors feared the nature of his subjects, he now was continuously in receipt of letters from leading periodicals soliciting contributions. This is especially significant in the case of more popular publications, like the *Atlantic Monthly*, Appleton's *Popular Science Monthly*, the *Forum* and similar magazines. Periodicals devoted

to historical research naturally welcomed anything from his pen. When the *American Historical Review* was founded, in 1895, Dr. J. F. Jameson, the editor, requested Lea to write the leading article for the first number. But his work was just then seriously retarded by a severe attack of influenza, and he was unable to comply. He contributed an article for the second number, however, and continued frequently to appear in the pages of this magazine thereafter.

A History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences in the Latin Church was published in August, 1896. Some account of the manner in which Lea was led to write it has already been given. However, the exact steps by which this study emerged from his research in the sources for the Spanish Inquisition are indicated in a letter to Lecky of May 25, 1890, which seems to be his earliest reference to the matter.¹ Apparently he already realized that the labor would involve him in another book, although he seemed happily unaware that it would become a three-volume work requiring five years to complete. He wrote Lecky:

"I remember years ago your urging me to write a book on Indulgences, giving a full account of the whole system. Rather unexpectedly I find myself deeply engaged in carrying out your suggestion. I am printing a volume of *Chapters from the Religious History of Spain* in which I had intended to include my essay on the Cruzada, but there was no room for it, so I concluded to print it separately with some additions, and have been insensibly led to consider the whole subject from the beginning. The gradual growth of the system of confession and absolution proves a most interesting subject of investigation, and I

¹ Correspondence, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

hope to produce a volume which will really be of service to the student. I thought that I had permanently bidden adieu to the Middle Ages, but I find myself back in them and in patristic times, much against my will, for I rather grudge being interrupted in my Spanish studies. *Ars longa, vita brevis*. I wonder whether I shall live to accomplish all that I want to do."

Something of the length of the labors which resulted from this quest has already been told. Each step into the labyrinth of materials disclosed longer vistas beyond, until the subject almost discouraged even his tireless industry. Yet he persisted, and by the early months of 1894 he began to see his investigations shaping themselves into a final form. On January 14, 1894, he wrote Lecky:¹

"I expected before this to have finished my book on confession and absolution, but I have found myself involved in the endless questions of probabilism and casuistry on which all modern moral theology is based. The literature of the subject is boundless and the points involved are intricate and confusing, but I hope to see my way through it all. A book on the subject would form an appropriate supplement to your *History of European Morals*, for certainly such a system of morality as that inculcated by Tamburini, Liguori and the dominant modern school of theologians was never excogitated before. They are wonderfully clever, however, their conclusions are strictly deduced from their premises, and their premises are not to be easily denied by the orthodox. If you have never looked into any of the standard collections of cases of conscience you would find one interesting, although occasionally the conclusions might startle you a little."

Scholars in his own field to whom Lea had disclosed his intention to treat the subject were unanimous in their

¹ Correspondence, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

opinion of its immensity, and in their admiration of the aging scholar who had the courage to interrupt a larger work to undertake it. The reaction of Count Balzani was typical:¹

"Your book on the Indulgences will indeed prove a boon to all students. The principles from which they have sprung are so entangled, their process and application so strange and various, that history has perhaps nothing more puzzling in its labyrinths. For my part I can never make anything of it. What are they really? What are their effects on the souls both of the living and the dead? What is their relation to sin and how far goes the atonement that they seem to bring with them? It is like running after a shadow which changes form and proportion at every moment. In the hope, indeed with the certainty that you will fix this shadow, you may imagine with what interest I am looking forward to the completion of your volume, though I can well understand how you grudge the time you are spending over it since it is taken from your greater work. May many happy years of good work be given you, as many and as happy as your friends wish you."

At last, however, on December 15, 1896, Lea could write Lecky:²

"My book is written and is passing through the press. It makes, much to my regret, three volumes, of which the first is printed and will be issued after the Christmas holidays. It has cost me more labor than anything else I have done and I fear is entirely too learned and dry for popular reading, but I think it reveals, as no other work in the language has done, the successive steps through which the spiritual autocracy of the Holy See has been built up. Meanwhile in the intervals of proof-reading I

¹ August 31, 1890. Correspondence, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

² Correspondence, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

have been endeavoring to bring together the scattered threads of the *Spanish Inquisition*, which was shunted off by the intrusion of *Confession and Indulgences*. The time has not been wholly lost, however, for I have been accumulating a considerable mass of documents from the various archives in Spain."

The first volume appeared in March. On June 16 he wrote Lecky, "I have just sent to the printer the Index of my third volume, which makes me feel like an emancipated galley slave." Volumes two and three appeared in August.

In general, the reception of this work was similar to that accorded *The Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, which has been already described.¹ It was a book that could not be ignored by criticism, whether Protestant, Catholic or purely objective. As in the case of former books of Lea, partisan criticism, whether Catholic or Protestant, was unfair to this work. Those illiberal and frequently professional Protestant polemics who insisted on regarding this work of patient investigation as a tract for the times, and employed its objective estimates of past conditions to support prejudiced or unscientific judgments of present practices, were as unfair to the historian as those Catholic critics, who in loyalty to the past of the institution which they desired to advance, denied the validity of all research which disclosed flaws in it. But, as in the case of *The Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, the book won the almost universal praise of the scholars whose judgment Lea respected, the serious workers in his field of every religious opinion, whose zeal was only for a faithful exposition of the established facts of the past. They noted especially

¹ See Chapter VII, pp. 247-269.

the enormous scope of this work, which traced the clear path of an evolving tradition through the tangled labyrinths of European history from the rudimentary beginnings of confession in the primitive Church, and the later emergence of the practice of indulgences in the eleventh century, down to the position and influence of these doctrines and practices in the contemporary Church. Within two years after the publication of *Confession and Indulgences* one finds, without any attempt at exhaustiveness, over thirty reviews by eminent historians appearing in the most trustworthy periodicals devoted to criticism, history and religion. They are almost unanimous in praise. The author had carefully avoided any suspicion of partisanship by one sage precaution. To this he draws attention in answer to a letter of Professor Frédéricq in which the latter notes with surprise that Lea had not cited certain sources. Lea replied,¹ "I did not consult any Protestant writers, for I wanted my book to be wholly impartial and free from any prepossession that I might unconsciously absorb." Like all of Lea's work, this had its origin in the first-hand examination of all of the available original sources, historical records of the Church itself. It was difficult to shake the foundations of a work which evidenced no postulation previous to the investigation of primary sources, avoided inferences, and stated in objective exposition the facts in historical development as they appeared in the sequence of records examined. This is of course the explanation of the authoritative position which *Confession and Indulgences* continues to hold, unchallenged by scholarship.

¹ October 28, 1896. Correspondence, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

Relieved of the burden of this book, its author now, at the age of seventy-two, could set his face directly toward the long anticipated goal of the Spanish Inquisition. Apparently it was only the uncertainty of life and not the difficulties of his subject that daunted him. He must have mentioned something of this to Professor Frédéricq, for the latter wrote, on October 14, 1896,¹ "Je vois par votre lettre, cher Monsieur, que vous commencez à douter de la possibilité d'achever sur cette terre votre tâche. J'espère bien que Dieu vous prêtera vie, comme dit Lafontaine, et que vous n'emporterez pas prématurément dans la tombe les trésors et les secrets accumulés de votre érudition et de vos conceptions historiques." Yet feeling as he did, that the chance was great that he would not complete the task, he set about it with the dignity of unhurried certitude, with scrupulous thoroughness in the investigation of each part of his subject as it developed, and with the unshaken conviction that he must achieve the unstinted entirety, or nothing. It was ten years before he successfully reached the goal he had set, two years before his death. The interval was marked by the publication, in 1901, of one volume, but it scarcely can be regarded as an interruption, since its subject, *The Moriscos of Spain, their Conversion and Expulsion*, was so related to his major subject that his thorough methods of work would have necessitated his investigation of the subject in any case.

As was to be expected, he reduced the reviewing of books to a minimum during this period, and his articles were fewer in number. Between the publication of *Confession and Indulgences* and *The Moriscos* he printed

¹ Correspondence, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

only four articles of a scholarly character: "Lucero the Inquisitor;" "Hidalgo and Morelos;" "The Dead Hand, a Brief Sketch of the Relations Between Church and State, with Regard to Ecclesiastical Property and the Religious Orders;" and "An Anti-Masonic Mystification," the article on Diana Vaughan. All of these were by-products of his study, involving no unnecessary research. The last two, as has been mentioned in another reference,¹ were partly prompted by the recent focusing of public attention on the Catholic Church as a result of the Spanish War. They were translated by Salomon Reinach into French in 1900-1901, as propaganda in the French Liberal movement, at the same time that the French scholar was at work on his translation of *The Inquisition of the Middle Ages*. Revising the latter work for the French edition, and reading the proof, cost its author six valuable weeks of begrudged time in 1901.

Three other articles of this period were of a popular character, flung from his rich store of knowledge as diversion for his moments of leisure. "Spanish Experiments in Coinage" (1897) for Appleton's *Popular Science Monthly* cost little effort, for he had become well acquainted with the subject in pursuit of other Spanish investigations. "The Decadence of Spain" (1898), and "The Indian Policy of Spain" (1899), both articles solicited by editors, were reactions of the author to the Spanish War. An interesting story is told of his writing the "Decadence." Walter H. Page, then editor of the *Atlantic Monthly*, had written him in the Spring of 1898 requesting an article on the fundamental causes of the conflict. Lea was then at the Delaware Water Gap for a brief enjoyment of the cherry

¹ See page 270.

blossoms. Away from his books he nevertheless wrote a searching study of the age-old causes of the war, hidden centuries deep in the mother country and her relations with her dependencies. When later asked how he had been able to write such a paper apparently offhand, he replied that about twenty years before he had become convinced that war with Spain would eventually occur, and that the history of the Catholic Church in the Spanish dependencies, especially in the Philippines, would throw an instructive light on the causes which would lead to it. He had for that reason procured a work by Spanish friars, in many volumes, dealing with colonial conditions, had digested it, and laid it aside. This, and the subsequent study of Spanish history and the Church, had so stored his memory that he carried in mind the materials necessary for his article, without the necessity for a single verification or reference. This is a proof of his enormous memory, of course, but more strikingly it is an indication of his foresight into historical probabilities.

The most important printed work of Lea in this period is certainly his great article, "The Eve of the Reformation," written at the request of Lord Acton to form the last chapter of the first volume of the *Cambridge Modern History*. This is a masterpiece of succinct exposition, in which all of the forces, many of them centuries old, which prepared the way for that critical moment in history, are brought to a focus. It is a bright light which catches in a moment of suspension the surface of an uneasy sea, and, flashing rapidly across its undulations, gives a sense of the forces which have formed its waves. This is a most difficult sort of writing, requiring perfect knowledge of the subject, and Lea accomplished it with

brilliance and power. So much was subsequently written concerning the circumstances which led to his being asked to perform the task, and the agency of Lord Acton in the matter, that a record of their correspondence is important.

It was on December 19, 1896, one week after the project of the *Cambridge Modern History* was announced, that Lord Acton, who had been chosen general editor, sent Lea the following letter,¹ requesting him to write the chapter:

"I avail myself of an opportunity that has arisen to recall myself to your memory. If the announcement of the *Cambridge Modern History*, which we made last week, has caught your eye, you will not be surprised to hear from me. . . . It is our wish to enlist the largest possible amount of American coöperation, not only for American affairs, which is of course, but elsewhere also, and it is a special desire of my own to obtain your aid in the first volume. It is confined exclusively to the Renaissance and ends where the Reformation begins. The last chapter, 'Eve of the Reformation,' is to describe the continental world as it just then was, irrespective of the several nations, in ideas, culture, knowledge, and all things marking the end of a great epoch, and the near advent of another. . . . This is the important and most critical chapter, which I am anxious to be allowed to place in your hands. It is clear that you are the one indicated and predestined writer. . . . There is nobody else . . . and I know of none whom I could go to, if you refuse"

Lea replied, January 7, 1897:

"It appears to me that in great part what I would have to say is already indicated in brief in sundry scattered passages of my books, and that my task would be to assemble and coördinate these, supply deficiencies and

¹ Correspondence, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

develop their relations rather than to undertake any amount of special study. If the latter is requisite I should be obliged to decline. I am deeply immersed in the Spanish Inquisition, a history of which has long been an object with me. At my time of life I shall be fortunate if capacity for labor is preserved long enough to enable me to complete the work, and nothing would induce me to break off from it for any length of time. . . . I cannot but wonder, however, why you should not have assigned the subject to Bishop Creighton, the man of all others to do it justice."

Lord Acton replied that he could hope for nothing more satisfactory and appropriate than the sort of article that Lea had proposed. The latter accordingly set to work, and after months of careful writing and revision, accomplished his task. On April 17, 1898, he forwarded his manuscript to Lord Acton, with this comment:

"With this I hand you the Ms. of my chapter on 'The Eve of the Reformation.' I hope that you will find it written in a thoroughly objective spirit. The promise in your 'Prospectus' of colorless impartiality rather frightens me—for to me it seems impossible to treat such a subject faithfully without saying some things that must prove objectionable to modern clericalism, and the mere statement of the condition of Europe at that period is a condemnation of the Church. . . . It is, however, the best that I can do . . . and if it does not meet your views you have only to say so and return it."

Lord Acton, himself a Catholic, found nothing objectionable or unjudicial in the article and used it exactly as submitted. That he was amply satisfied is demonstrated by his note of acceptance:

"I sincerely thank you for the honor you do me in giving the aid of your hand and the sanction of your

name to our international undertaking. . . . Your last work contains almost all I am asking for, ten times told, and full measure running over."

There the matter rested, and the volume was published in 1902. No work of Lea has excited more admiration of scholars than his chapter in this volume. In the year of its publication, however, Lord Acton died. His liberalism as a Catholic historian had excited antipathies in the Church, and soon after his death his orthodoxy was called into question. A controversy resulted which was only resolved when he was exonerated by high Church authorities.

However, the publication, in 1906, of Gasquet's *Lord Acton and His Circle*, again brought the matter into dispute. The review of this book in *The Tablet*, a London Catholic weekly, was the signal for a series of letters from correspondents in September, October and November, 1906, in some of which Acton's relations with Lea were cited as evidence of his wavering Catholic views, and Lea's reputation as an accurate historian was questioned. The charge of partiality as a historian Lea had before met with equanimity, knowing how ill-founded it was, but since his personal relations with Lord Acton, especially in connection with the *Cambridge History* article, were misrepresented, he determined to speak. His attention had been called to the whole matter by Mrs. Helena Lawrence Gardiner, daughter of his first cousin Henry Carey Baird, and herself a Catholic. She especially resented the letter of Herbert Thurston, S. J., that appeared in *The Tablet* of November 10, 1906, which read in part:

"What did he (Acton) ever do for Catholicism? . . . Take even the *Cambridge Modern History*, the organization

of which was the work of his last days; have Catholics any particular reason to be grateful for that? I am given to understand, but I shall be only too glad to be corrected if I am wrong, that the choice of Dr. H. C. Lea as a contributor to the Reformation volume was due to Lord Acton himself. Now I may say fearlessly, that it would have been hard to find a writer either more prejudiced or more persistently inaccurate than Dr. H. C. Lea. Had Dr. Lea busied himself with any other subject than the abuses of the Papal system, Lord Acton would have been the first to denounce the gross carelessness and want of logic which are conspicuous in almost everything this writer touches."

This was an unfair and virulent detraction, but it was followed by a letter even more difficult to endure in silence. The succeeding issue of *The Tablet*, November 24, 1906, printed the following letter from William O. Sutcliffe:

"I do not ask you to re-open the correspondence about Lord Acton, but I should be glad if somewhere in *The Tablet* you would kindly correct the idea suggested by Father Thurston that the choice of Dr. Lea as a writer in the first volume of *The Cambridge Modern History* was due to Lord Acton. I was resident in Cambridge at the time the volume was published, and I understand that Lord Acton planned the chapter on the 'Eve of the Reformation' for England only, and invited an unexceptionable scholar to write it. After Lord Acton's death the new editors thought it better that this chapter should deal with all Europe, and invited the same scholar to take it. On his declining, they asked Dr. Lea, and he accepted."

With letters in his files showing that Lord Acton had more than five years before his death asked him to write the chapter and called him "the one indicated and predestined writer," the American could no longer endure this accumulation of misrepresentation. He had already

written a letter adducing the facts of the matter when he was informed by Mrs. Gardiner that the second Lord Acton had written, in the *Times* of October 30, 1906, a letter vindicating his father and defending his devout Catholicism. Unwilling to jeopard Lord Acton's "little piece of filial piety," as Lea called it in a note to Mrs. Gardiner, he quietly slipped his letter into his files, and bore in silence the detractions which had been levelled at him. It was not until 1911, when the danger of unpleasantness to the family of Lord Acton had passed, that belated justice was done to the posthumous reputation of Lea. *The Tablet* for October 21 of that year bears a communication from Professor Edward P. Cheyney,³ who had come into possession of the Acton correspondence, and was in a position to disprove the slanders which his old friend had so magnanimously disregarded. (See p. 363.)

Recognition in various forms continued, in this last period of his work, to indicate the increasing appreciation of Lea's writings.¹ President Andrew F. West, of Princeton University, wrote, September 11, 1896,² "We are much gratified that we are to have the honor of recognizing your great historical work by the highest degree in our gift." This refers to the Princeton Sesqui-Centennial Celebration, held October 22, 1896, when Lea was invited to receive the LL.D. It was not only institutions that

¹ In an extended notice of *The Inquisition of Spain* in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, April, 1918, the writer relates the following incident: "It is the fashion in American universities to give their professors a sabbatical year, one year of rest in every seven. A Harvard don spent his year in traveling through Europe. Wherever he went he was deluged with inquiries as to Lea, the historian of the Inquisition, and when he came to Spain he was assured that the one American whom the Spaniards wished to welcome was Dr. Lea.

² Correspondence, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania

³ Professor of History in the University of Pennsylvania.

honored him. He had the happy fortune to evoke the personal affection as well as the scholarly admiration of many of his correspondents. Their letters were rich in friendship. Of Reinach, Döllinger, Molinier, Frédéricq, Hubert, Bryce, Lecky, Villari and Balzani this was especially true. None of the academic recognitions touched him as deeply as the simple tribute of Frédéricq in dedicating to him the second volume of his *Histoire de l'Inquisition dans les Pays-Bas*. The author called attention to this dedication in a letter to Lea dated December 15, 1897: "Comme vous le verrez, a la seconde page, après le titre, j'ai pris la liberté de dédier ce volume a l'auteur de *A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages* comme un faible témoignage de ma gratitude pour les services que cet ouvrage m'a rendu." This incident was but a fulfilment of the intention which the Belgian scholar had partly expressed to Lea more than seven years earlier, in his letter of September 20, 1890: "Futile de vous dire que desque je publierai quelque chose sur l'Inquisition, ma première pensée sera de l'envoyer à celui que je puis bien appeler mon maître, car votre *History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages* est un modèle que je m'efforcerai d'imiter pour les Pays-Bas."

The intimacy of these friendships is the more significant when one considers that few of his most intimate correspondents ever saw him in person. Count Balzani, with whom, as with Frédéricq and Lecky, his letters assumed in time a note of almost personal affection, wrote March 3, 1909:¹

"I wish I could tell you all the pleasure my daughter and I have felt in making the acquaintance of your son²

¹ Correspondence, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

² Charles M. Lea.

and daughter-in-law, and of their charming girl. Besides the pleasure of becoming acquainted with them, I felt as if a new and living link had been formed between you and me. There is always something almost mythical in a friend whom we have known for many years without having been able to see him. Mr. and Mrs. Lea have brought with them a sense of reality about you, which I felt with great pleasure."

Meanwhile the work went on, almost without interruption. The effort to keep abreast of the constant arrival of new materials required continuous application, and there was besides the necessary labor to increase his facility in the use of Spanish and the languages of the Spanish peninsula, as well as the unremitting checking of his findings against the printed accounts of Spanish history. The outbreak of the war with Spain threatened at first to bring to a close his study of sources in that country, because of its interference with communication, and it seemed a cruel irony that at his age his progress should be hampered in this way. But his fears ultimately proved unfounded. The interruption of communication was of short duration, and he wrote in great satisfaction to Lecky, October 16, 1898:¹

"When the suspension of hostilities with Spain took place in August and communications were reopened I was a little surprised to find that the copyists who had been at work for me in the archives had continued to toil away, apparently in happy confidence that the trouble would soon be over and that they would get their pay, so that I had quite an accumulation of material poured in upon me."

In 1901 was published at Philadelphia *The Moriscos of Spain: Their Conversion and Expulsion*. It has already

¹ Correspondence, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

been indicated that this was begun as a part of his study of the Spanish Inquisition and that it outgrew the proportions of that work. That the author must have explained it in somewhat these terms in a letter to Count Balzani is suggested by the latter's reply of December 10, 1900:¹

"I am very glad to hear that your work is proceeding towards its completion, and I think that your plan of disembarassing your main work from the excess of materials is a very wise one. The great difficulty when one has accumulated a very large amount of evidence is to decide what to leave out. I am looking forward to the pleasure of reading your book on the 'Moriscos.'"

In the Preface to the volume the author explains:

"The material on which this volume is based was collected for a chapter in a general history of the Spanish Inquisition which I hoped in due time to prepare. On reviewing it the subject has seemed to me to possess interest and importance deserving fuller treatment than it could receive as a mere episode in a larger narrative, for it not only embodies a tragedy commanding the deepest sympathy, but it epitomizes nearly all the errors and tendencies which combined to cast down Spain, in little more than a century, from its splendor under Charles V to its humiliation under Carlos II. The labors of modern Spanish scholars have made public a mass of documentary evidence which throws much light on the inner history of the movements leading up to the final catastrophe, but this has been mostly drawn from state papers and unconsciously minimizes the part taken by intolerance and embodied in the Inquisition. To some extent I have therefore been able to supplement their researches and to make more prominent what was perhaps the most efficient agency in rendering impossible the amalgamation of the races essential to the peace and prosperity of the land."

¹ Correspondence, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

The Moriscos treats the terrible story of ecclesiastical and civil violence directed against the descendants of the Moors in Spain, leading, under the Inquisition, to their enforced conversion and ultimate expulsion. Opening the account directly after the reconquest, the author shows that previously to the founding of the Inquisition, the Moorish population, in spite of the suggestions from Rome that they be persecuted for religious belief, were in general undisturbed by local civil authorities, because of their value to the community. With the establishment of the Inquisition in 1480, however, the situation rapidly altered. Certain elements of the population, jealous of the frugal industry and success of the Moors, were but too willing to further the designs of the inquisitors. Visualizing the awful forces of religious intolerance and avaricious greed in a barbarous age, the historian traces the inevitable course of oppression, cruelty and revolt until the Moors were ultimately subdued and forced to embrace Christianity in 1525. Held in a servile condition by discriminatory laws and never assimilated into the body of the populace, the Moriscos, as they were now called, were subjected to continuous oppression, largely inspired by the authorities of the Inquisition, for nearly a century. The details of this period are developed in all their horror, with a treatment of the forces which led to their final expulsion from Spain in 1609. A number variously estimated, but probably at least 1,000,000 souls, were forcibly driven into Africa in that year. Impoverished, and sent without adequate preparations into hostile countries, they suffered untold miseries and dangers, as a result of which nearly three-quarters of them perished in the inhospitable lands of their exile. The concluding portions of the volume deal

with the subsequent demoralization of Spain and the economic losses which followed hard on the destruction of nearly one-eighth of the population constituting one of the most frugal and valuable of its elements.

From the publication of *The Moriscos* until the first volume of *The Inquisition of Spain* went to press, five years later, Lea's labor was uninterrupted. Only two articles were published in this period: in 1904 "The Inquisitor in Peru," a preliminary sketch of materials used in the later *Inquisition in the Spanish Dependencies*; and "Molinos and the Italian Mystics," an article requested by the *American Historical Review*, and dealing with a matter which he had investigated some years previously. So rigorous was his discipline and so frugal his use of time that he restricted even more than formerly his social contacts. Persuaded in 1902 to join the Franklin Inn Club by his friend Dr. S. Weir Mitchell, who had founded this organization of Philadelphia literary men, he resigned within a year, on the ground that his limited time would not permit him to attend the meetings and luncheons. Likewise he declined the tempting invitation of the University of Pennsylvania to become its delegate in October at Oxford University for the three-hundredth anniversary of the opening of the Bodleian Library.

Numerous other honors came unsought. In 1902 he was elected Corresponding Member of the Imperial University of Moscow; and the same year became a member of the Royal Accademia dei Lincei, the oldest and most distinguished literary body in Italy, which in its early days numbered Galileo as an associate. In February of the following year he was notified by the Council of the University of Moscow of his election as an honorary member of the University.

His election as President of the American Historical Association in 1903 was the highest tribute that native historians could pay him. In 1902 he had accepted election to the honorary office of First Vice-President; but when it was intimated to him that he should be regarded as the logical choice for President the following year, he at first declined the honor, on the ground that he had not the time. Finally, however, he was assured by the committee that his sole duty would consist in the preparation of the annual presidential address, and he permitted his nomination. This address, "Ethical Values in History," read by proxy at the meeting of the Association in New Orleans, December 29, 1903, is one of his best monographs. It is one of his most interesting papers, not only because of its intrinsic merits, but also by reason of the added light it sheds on Lea's conception of the function of the historian. He took as point of departure a section from Lord Acton's "The Study of History," in which the great Englishman states that one of the cardinal purposes of history is to render a judgment on the morality of the past age that it studies, exhorting historical writers "to try others by the final maxim that governs your own lives and to suffer no man and no cause to escape the undying penalty which history has the power to inflict on wrong." Lea's paper was written to controvert this viewpoint and to support another ideal of historical writing. A summary of his various points, largely in his own words, may prove interesting:

"The argument with which Lord Acton justifies this exhortation to his students presupposes a fixed and unalterable standard of morality, together with the comfortable assurance that we have attained to that absolute knowl-

edge of right and wrong which enables us to pass final judgment on the men of the past, secure that we make no mistake when we measure them by our own moral yardstick. Every foregone age has similarly flattered itself, and presumably every succeeding one will continue to cherish the same illusion.

"I must confess that to me all this seems to be based on false premises and to lead to unfortunate conclusions as to the objects and purposes of history, however much it may serve to give point and piquancy to a narrative, to stimulate the interest of the casual reader by heightening lights and deepening shadows, and to subserve the purpose of propagating the opinions of the writer.

"Race, civilization, environment, all influence the moral perceptions, which vary from age to age, while the standards of right and wrong are modified and adapted to what at the moment are regarded as the objects most beneficial to the individual or to the social organization. At one time these may concern the purity or advancement of religion; at another, self-preservation or the welfare of the clan or the nation; at another, personal well-being and the development of industry as a means to that end. Whatever stands foremost in any given period will be apt to receive special recognition from both the ethical teacher and the lawgiver. It is to legislation that we must look if we desire to understand the modes of thought and the moral standards of past ages; and a comparison of these with those now current will show how unstable and fluctuating are ethical conceptions. Crime is largely conventional, dependent not on an eternal and imprescriptible moral law, but on the environment in which a portion of mankind happens at the time to be placed.

"Thus far I have sought briefly to show that Lord Acton's dictum is defective in principle. As regards its practical application, I presume that you will agree with me that history is not to be written as a Sunday-school tale for children of larger growth. It is, or should be, a serious attempt to ascertain the severest truth as to the

past and to set it forth without fear or favor. It may and it generally will, convey a moral, but that moral should educe itself from the facts. Characters historically prominent are usually so because they are men of their time, the representatives of its beliefs and aspirations; and they should be judged accordingly. If those beliefs and aspirations lead to evil the historian should seek to trace out their origin and development, and he can, if he so chooses, point out their results; but he should not hold responsible the men who obeyed their consciences, even if this led them into what we conceive to be wrongdoing. It is otherwise with those who have sinned against the light vouchsafed to them, for to condemn them is simply to judge them by the standards of their time."

Then in a series of practical illustrations he points out the injustices that have frequently resulted from the effort of historians to evaluate the actions of individuals and to render judgment upon past periods in the light of a later moral conception. The fullest development is given the example of Philip II of Spain, so virtuous in the light of the best morality of his times, so variously judged and misrepresented by later historians. He concludes, significantly:

"It is not to be assumed that history loses, in the colorless treatment which I advocate, its claims as a teacher of the higher morality, if I may be allowed thus to designate some system of practical ethics superior to that in which we of today are groping somewhat blindly. To depict a man like Philip as a monster of iniquity, delighting in human misery, may gratify prejudice and may lend superficial life and vigor to narrative, but it teaches in reality no lesson. To represent him truthfully as the inevitable product of a distorted ethical conception is to trace effects to causes and to point out the way to improvement. This is not only the scientific method

applied to history, but it ennobles the historian's labors by rendering them contributory to that progress which adds to the sum of human happiness and fits mankind for a higher standard of existence. The study of the past in this spirit may perhaps render us more impatient of the present, and yet more hopeful of the future.

"As one of the last survivors of a past generation, whose career is rapidly nearing its end, in bidding you farewell I may perhaps be permitted to express the gratification with which, during nearly half a century, I have watched the development of historical work among us in the adoption of scientific methods. Year after year I have marked with growing pleasure the evidence of thorough and earnest research on the part of a constantly increasing circle of well-trained scholars who have no cause to shun comparison with those of the older hemisphere. In such hands the future of the American school of history is safe, and we can look forward with assurance to the honored position which it will assume in the literature of the world."

The personal note of farewell with which this address closed was misinterpreted by many of the historian's friends, who saw in it a declaration that his own days of work were past. Nothing was farther from his mind, for he was even then mustering all of his remaining strength and spirit for a final drive toward the completion of his great task. His age made him covetous of time and more persistent in his efforts; it never suggested to him the idea of cessation. But many were the exhortations of his friends to stick to his task. Even Frédéricq, who better than any other scholar knew his unflagging zeal, hastily scrawled on a post-card:¹

¹ February 13, 1904. Correspondence, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

“Merci pour l’aimable envoi de votre discours, *Ethical Values in History*. Les derniers mots sont vraiment touchants. Vous semblez dire adieu à la science historique. Quoique vos 80 ans approchent, vous ne voudrez pas encore désérer le poste d’honneur où vous êtes placé. Bonne santé et bon courage!”

With “good health and good courage” he pursued his way. The end was now in sight, and in two more years *The Inquisition of Spain* had taken shape as a book. One interruption was inevitable, the revision of *Sacerdotal Celibacy* for a third edition. The book was out of print and in some demand, and an English publisher wrote, suggesting a new edition in two volumes. Lea referred the matter to Houghton, Mifflin & Co., who had originally published it. They were willing to undertake a new edition, but suggested that Macmillan & Co., who had already agreed to the publication of *The Inquisition of Spain*, be asked to bring out the earlier work in uniform style. Arrangements were soon completed and the author spent several months on the revision, especially of the material for the new second volume. The new edition appeared on both sides of the Atlantic in 1907.

In order to see *The Inquisition of Spain* in proper perspective, it will be necessary to turn backward somewhat to the period of *The Inquisition of the Middle Ages* and note the stages of evolution, as a separate work, of the study of Spain. As has been said, from the very beginning of his researches, Lea had regarded his proposed treatment of the Inquisition of Spain as a continuation of the subjects presented in *The Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, rather than as a separate work. The task which he had originally set himself was the treatment of the entire history of the

Inquisition; its division into two parts was suggested by the materials and the exigencies of space. From the beginning of his researches he had been gathering documents and making notes for the Spanish side of his subject. Chronology, however, led him to concentrate his attention first on the pre-Reformation era. In 1887, as soon as the earlier work was in press, he had turned his attention to an orderly and systematic survey of the later field.

In thus following the history of the Inquisition from the very beginning, he had a decided advantage over those scholars who had investigated merely the post-Reformation period, without due consideration of the earlier developments. That he had at once recognized this advantage is clear from his letter to Montet¹ of September 9, 1888, in which he says:

"I find the Spanish Inquisition an intensely interesting subject of investigation, and much more complex than its medieval predecessor. Yet it cannot be thoroughly comprehended without a knowledge of its antecedents, and in this I think I have an advantage over those who have thus far treated it rather as an isolated fact than as a development of preëxisting factors. The ignorance of recent apologists, such as Hefele and Gams, is astounding, and even such a man as Ranke drew his conclusions from too narrow a circle of facts."

Although he had already gathered, as the incidental result of his earlier research, a wealth of material, he now set about organizing his quest to cover thoroughly the archives which he knew to be richest in sources. The Preface to *The Inquisition of Spain* mentions the archives of Simancas, Alcalá, Madrid, and the Crown of Aragon.

¹ Correspondence, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

These, as well as the *Biblioteca Nacional* and the Library of the Academia de la Historia, he in 1888 had made his primary interest. He wrote early in that year to Ménéndez y Pelayo, of the University of Madrid, the most erudite Spaniard of his times, seeking general advice concerning scholars who might be employed to direct the work of accomplished copyists. Through Pelayo a beginning was made, and in a short time the work was proceeding rapidly in every direction. In libraries where he had conducted investigations before, he also made a fresh start on new sources: at the Bodleian, at Halle, and at the Royal Libraries of Copenhagen, Munich and Berlin. Through his friend Professor Tocco of Florence he was referred to Professor Ernesto Monaci of Rome, who directed copyists in transcribing designated sources at the Corsini Library and the Minerva Library. On January 25, 1888, Lecky wrote to announce the successful beginning of the work of transcribing important documents at the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. Lea spared no efforts to secure permission to transcribe any document that might prove valuable. Learning in 1889 of two volumes of Spanish Ms. sources in the *Gotthold Heine's Sammlung* of the University of Halle, he found on further correspondence that they had never been made accessible to scholars. He at once secured an introduction to the German Minister at Washington, and so fortified his request by diplomatic influence exerted by his friends that he secured permission to have the entire materials transcribed.

He threw himself into the task with all his vigorous enthusiasm. Lecky had written a letter indicating the possibility of his own retirement at fifty. Lea replied:¹

¹ February 6, 1888. Correspondence, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

"I can hardly take you seriously when you talk of abandoning history because you are about to complete your half century. Judging from the way in which men retain their vigor in your equable climate you ought to have a good quarter of a century before you for honest hard work, enough to enable you to accomplish much besides the miscellaneous essays you allude to, and the completion of your task. I am afraid you will regard me as a sanguine visionary when, in my sixty-third year, and scarce more than a valetudinarian who has to live according to rule, I am commencing the history of the modern Inquisition with all its vast ramifications. Yet so it is, and even now, in the intervals of proof-reading and indexing, I am deep in the effort to form an accurate conception of Spain under Ferdinand and Charles V, studying the laws and reading all the contemporary writers, to see if I can find a solution of the exceedingly curious problem of the growth of the Holy Office in a soil so thoroughly uncongenial. I estimate that I have at least a ten years' task on hand, and if I do not live to complete it, I shall at all events have something to make my declining years busy and interesting. It seems to me there is much to be said on the subject which has never yet been said, and the pleasure of the labor is as much in the execution of it as in the outcome. But I know that you must feel as I do. You have done too much admirable work to be able to forego the intellectual excitement of it, and no matter how often you may drop the pen you will be unable to resist the temptation of resuming it."

The stage of his investigations in 1888 is indicated a little more clearly in two revelatory letters to Professor Frédéricq. In the former he says:¹

"It is good news to learn that the second part (of your book) may be expected next winter, and I shall depend

¹ April 9 and May 8, 1888. Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

upon it as the basis of my account of the Inquisition in the Netherlands under Spanish rule. At present I am working on the materials for the Spanish Inquisition which will occupy me for a year or two with its development on the peninsula, and then I propose to take up its history in Naples and the Low Countries, so I shall have full opportunity of utilizing your labors. The genesis of the Spanish Inquisition and the revolution which it wrought in the Spanish character were at first one of the most inexplicable problems of history to me, but I think I am beginning to see my way through it. No one, it seems to me, has yet approached the subject in the right way, and all presentations of it have been more or less distorted by the subjectivity of those who have treated it. Whether or not I shall succeed better remains to be seen.

"The Spanish Inquisition will occupy me for a good while, and must of course be followed by that of the Colonies and subject territories. For the Colonies I have within reach a large amount of curious inedited material, as they form a subject which has yet been scarcely worked. For Naples too, I have a good many Mss., while for the Netherlands I shall rely on you, confident that nothing of importance will have escaped your vigilance.

"You speak of your second volume extending from 1520 to 1531. I hope the work will not end there, for although I have all of Gachard's publications and the rest of the voluminous matter relating to the struggle with Charles V and Philip II, such a work as yours would fill all the gaps, and be an inestimable guide through the labyrinth.

"The deeper I get into the causes which led to the development of the Spanish Inquisition the less it seems to me that those causes have been understood. I think I am on the right track, and I hope in due time to be able to set them forth clearly and intelligibly."

Already, as these letters indicate, he saw his responsibility to go to the root of the vexed question as no other scholar had done before him; and implicit in this was the

duty to interpret the complex forces of the Spanish Inquisition in terms of subsequent Spanish history and culture. As the book ultimately developed into its finished form twenty years later, this element of interpretation emerged as one of the most notable of its contributions to the literature of the subject. He put the matter clearly in 1888 in a letter to Lecky,¹ in which he said:

“Spanish history has never had any attractions for me, but I cannot help taking it up, for the Spanish Inquisition is the controlling factor in the career of modern persecution. I have become intensely interested in the curious problem of the profound modification wrought in the Spanish character by the Inquisition. It has puzzled me greatly. No one yet, so far as I have seen, has ever apprehended the conditions of the question, and if I live to complete my book I believe that I shall be able to throw some light on a matter that has hitherto escaped all scientific treatment, for previous writers have only skimmed the surface and have mistaken symptoms for causes. Even Ranke and Hefele are perfectly superficial, and Amadon de los Rios, who conscientiously studied a portion of the sources, knew too little of the rest and was too good a Catholic and a Spaniard to go to the root of the matter.”

The interruption of the work by the intrusion of the subject of *Confession and Indulgences*, completed in three volumes in 1896, has already been explained.² Yet he could not regard the new work quite as an interruption, for it dealt with materials that he felt obliged to study in preparation for his chief objective, and his passion for thoroughness would not permit him to skim the surface anywhere. So it was that resenting the task he still

¹ April 9, 1888. Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

² See page 301.

undertook it, and by the good fortune of long life was able to return to complete the work previously begun. Resent the task he did, and in 1896 he felt that he had seriously hazarded his chances to complete the larger study by reason of the years spent on the lesser. In that year he wrote Professor Frédéricq:¹

“At one time I expected that your labors would prove of the greatest assistance to me in my projected history of the Inquisition, but I do no longer flatter myself with the anticipation of being able to complete that work. Released from *A History of Confession and Indulgences* I have returned to the Spanish Inquisition, and I fear that at my time of life I cannot look forward to more years of activity than will suffice for the completion of that portion of my task. The magnitude of the attempt grows upon me as I approach it, and I shall consider myself fortunate if strength is spared me for its accomplishment. It has been a source of great regret to me that I feel myself unable to carry out my project of a complete history of the Inquisition for which, especially in Italy, I have made considerable Ms. collections. If I had not unfortunately been betrayed into devoting the last three or four years to the book on Confession I might have accomplished it, but I fear it is now too late, and I think you will agree with me, when I say that I am in my seventy-second year.”

The prediction of these letters proved correct; the Netherlands and Italy were never studied, although he was spared to complete the study of Spain. In 1903 he wrote Professor Frédéricq:²

“I am still drudging at the Spanish Inquisition and making such progress as encourages me to hope that I may live to finish it, though it is getting to be a much larger work

¹ September 26 and October 28. Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

² February 21, 1903. Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

than I want. The details are infinite and the task of selection is difficult.

"I have been much pleased with a recent book by Dr. Schäfer, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des spanischen Protestantismus*. He is the first to have resolutely attacked the frightful mass of the archives, and to have based his work on the records and not on the imaginary narratives of his predecessors. I owe him a little grudge for having anticipated me in various things that I had to say and documents which I expected to be the first to bring to light: but that cannot be helped, and I think that my book will have enough that is new to be able to spare him what he has worked for."

A little more than two years later, on June 10, 1905, he again wrote Frédéricq:¹

"My labor on the Spanish Inquisition is about completed, and today I received from the printers the first proof, so that I may hope by autumn to see the first volume published. It will make four volumes, too much I fear, but it has required earnest condensation to bring it down to this compass. And this after omitting the Dependencies and Colonies, which will have to follow as a small supplementary volume.

"I shall not attempt to grapple with the Netherlands. I am too old to undertake a task so intricate and difficult; and besides, until your *Corpus* is completed, any attempt of the kind could only be provisional."

The condensation of which he speaks in this letter had cost him many weary hours of postponement, but it was characteristic of him. He explains it in a letter of April 6, 1905, to Professor Burr:²

"I am not yet ready for the printer. I thought last summer that I had completed the task, but found that

¹ Correspondence, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

² *Ibid.*

I had exceeded all reasonable bounds, and have been employed ever since in condensing and excising. I am nearing the end of this drudgery and shall get rid of some five hundred pages."¹

Lea told another correspondent some years later that he had rewritten the entire work to bring it down to the scope of four instead of six volumes, and that it took him nine months to do the work.² The second volume went to press in December, 1905. But again the work was to be delayed, for in January, the printers went on strike and publication was necessarily postponed for five months. Macmillan & Co., who had accepted the work for publication in the spring of 1905, were not able to publish the first two volumes until nearly the end of 1906; the remainder of the work came out in 1907. With this contract the publishers had agreed to take over from Harpers *The Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, and to republish it in an edition uniform with the later work. This complete and uniform edition was not achieved, however, until 1922, long after the author's death.

¹ "When his 'History of the Inquisition of Spain' was ready for the press it bade fair to occupy six large volumes. After serious thought Mr. Lea decided that this was too long, and notwithstanding his eighty years of age and a pressing realization of the possibility that death might overtake him with the work of half a lifetime incomplete, he quietly set himself to the task of rewriting the six thousand pages with his own pen in shorter form, and within a year completed his task, reducing it from six volumes to four. Surely this was a high instance of courage of the scholar. No haste to appear before the public, no boasting, no complaint; simply a sincere and loyal recognition of the claims of scholarship, and a willingness to grapple with all the difficulties of his subject, whatever form they might take." Cheyney, E. P.: "On the Life and Works of Henry Charles Lea," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 50, No. 198.

² Letter to Prosper Müllendorff, January 20, 1908. Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

The *History of the Inquisition of Spain* is the fullest evidence of the industry and scholarship of its author, taking its place permanently among the relatively few great works of historical investigation. The revision which it underwent made it a work of remarkable compression. Its enormous body of information, reference and interpretation¹ is effectively ordered to the compactest possible compass, yet the result is a work in an entirely readable style, vivid in narrative and lucid in exposition. It adopts the point of view of "scientific" rather than "popular" history, and accepts the consequent limitation of its appeal; but one has the feeling that its aims have been achieved as well as possibly could be in any age, by any writer. This is the test of greatness.

As was his custom, Lea made his prefatory remarks so pertinent that no critic of his work could avoid quoting them in explanation of the book. He says:

"I have sought to trace, from the original sources as far as possible, the character and career of an institution

¹ "Any treatment of these subjects which was to be anything but superficial and temporary involved years of labor in the great folio collections of law and theology, in out-of-the-way tracts and pamphlets, and in the libraries and archives of every part of Europe. From this life of patient toil Mr. Lea never shrank. This self-made scholar set himself to attack some of the hardest problems of the world's history, whose difficulties were to prove the measure of his success. From the outset he formed the habit of going directly to the original sources. His most mature work was the *History of the Inquisition of Spain*. The subject is intricate and thorny, the materials for the most part unprinted and uncalendared, and except for certain publications of the author, scarcely anything had been done in the way of preliminary exploration or monographic investigation. Under such conditions the historian was obliged to be quarryman as well as architect, and the four solid volumes which he produced were fashioned out of the solid rock of original documents." "Tribute to Henry Charles Lea," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, December, 1909.

which exercised no small influence on the fate of Spain, and even, one may say, indirectly on the civilized world. The material for this is preserved so superabundantly in the immense Spanish archives that no one writer can pretend to exhaust the subject. There can be no finality in a history resting on so vast a mass of inedited documents, and I do not flatter myself that I have accomplished such a result, but I am not without hope that what I have drawn from them and from the labors of previous scholars has enabled me to present a fairly accurate survey of one of the most remarkable organizations recorded in human annals."

That his picture, here as in the case of his former volumes, was to be interpreted in terms of human progress, is made clear in the succeeding passage:

"A somewhat minute analysis has seemed to be indispensable of its structure and methods of procedure, of its relations with the other bodies of the State, and of its dealings with the various classes subject to its extensive jurisdiction. This has involved the accumulation of much detail in order to present the daily operation of a tribunal of which the real importance is to be sought, not so much in the awful solemnities of the *auto-da-fe*, or in the cases of a few celebrated victims, as in the silent influence exercised by its incessant and secret labors among the mass of the people and in the limitations which it placed on the Spanish intellect; in the resolute conservatism with which it held the nation in the medieval groove and unfitted it for the exercise of rational liberty when the nineteenth century brought in the inevitable revolution."

The work is in four large volumes of approximately 600 pages each, with indexes and copious appendixes of documents. Volume I is in two books. The first deals with "The Origin and Establishment" of the Spanish Inquisition. The point of departure is therefore the year

1480, when the Inquisition was formally established in Castile, under Ferdinand and Isabella. The author first gives us, in several chapters, the conditions in various Spanish localities, which serve as background to the founding of the Inquisition. Castile at the accession of Ferdinand and Isabella is vividly depicted, and two chapters are especially devoted to the history and treatment of the Jews and Moors in Spain previous to the Inquisition. The political events which caused the crown of the Castilian monarchy to request the institution of an Inquisition are then fully depicted. The kingdoms of Aragon, with their separate institutions, demanded individual treatment, which is given under the headings of Valencia, Aragon, Catalonia and the Balearic Islands. In the second book, "Relations with the State," is developed the rise of the Inquisition to supereminence, above the power of the old bishops, on the one hand, and seriously infringing upon older monarchic prerogatives on the other. It is a complicated story, but one sees the gradual emergence, through several successive conflicts, civil and ecclesiastical, of the power of the Inquisition, until it has usurped every function that could be of civil or economic assistance to its purposes, and buttressed itself with a system of privileges and exemptions that made its position impregnable. These, together with its unshakable assumption of "benefit of clergy," enabled it gradually to assume the controlling power in all cases of conflicting jurisdiction. The consequent abuses are indicated, together with the almost immediate reaction of popular hostility.

Volume II begins with book three, in which the various successful struggles of the Inquisition to extend its jurisdiction are depicted. Its claim from the beginning to

absolute control of the question of heresy is explained and the gradual expansion of this prerogative is shown. Jurisdiction over the regular orders of the clergy and over the bishops, at first disputed, is shown as gradually enlarged through a succession of events until it was almost absolute. Finally it is shown how, by repeated and skilful maneuvers, the Spanish Inquisition finally even abrogated the right of individuals to appeal from its judgments to the supreme jurisdiction of Rome. The author next turns his attention to the questions of the constitution and physical support of the Inquisition. Book four, which is short, deals with the "Organization" into Inquisitor-General, Supreme Council, and the Tribunal, and defines the relationships between them, with the duties and authorities of the several officials. Book five, likewise brief, deals with the "Resources" of the institution: its self-supporting strength as a result of its almost unlimited power of confiscation, its power to impose fines and penances, and its sale of dispensations and benefices, and above all lays the basis for the later demonstration that the power of the Inquisition in this direction was the most fertile cause of abuses.

Book six, which is continued into the third volume, is one of the most important and most highly documented portions of the work. It deals with the actual "Practice" of the Inquisition: an outline of the process of inquisitorial trial; a detailed account, in historical development, of the power of arrest of accused and of witnesses, together with the abusive custom of sequestering the property of those brought before its tribunal; a description of the varieties of secret prison and the horrors of incarceration; the rules of evidence, and the legalized brutality by which

evidence was secured; the emphasis on confession and the means used to obtain it; the frequent use of torture in the process of evidence and confession, together with an authoritative account of the formalized rules for its administration; and finally, the development and organization of the trial itself. A large portion of the third volume is occupied by the seventh book, dealing with "Punishment." Here are explained the varieties of sentence, with such related considerations as suspended sentence, acquittal, and compurgation; minor penalties, like reprimand, abjuration, and spiritual penances; harsher penalties, such as the scourge, shameful exposure, the galleys, the perpetual prison, and the Sanbenito; and finally, the awful and demoralizing infliction of the stake, and the impressive horrors of the *auto-da-fe*.

In the concluding portions of the third volume begins the eighth book, devoted to the various "Spheres of Action" of the Inquisition. Each chapter treats in historical perspective the struggle of the Inquisition against some form of heresy or some political power which threatened its supremacy. In Spain, of course, the first attack was directed against the Jews and the Moriscos or converted Moors, cruel treatment of whom by the Inquisition the author had more fully described in an earlier volume. But little later, beginning with the influence of Erasmus, the threatening spirit of Protestantism began to work; and the efforts to repress it are outlined, from the measures of Leo X, in 1521, to prevent the introduction of Spanish versions of Luther's books, until native Protestantism was temporarily crushed by the terrible *autos-da-fe* of 1559-1565. The next chapter is a treatment of the Inquisitorial control of censorship, a subject on which Lea

had already written fully elsewhere. Of the struggle of the Church against Mysticism, also, Lea had written before; but now, in Chapter V, he turned his attention more fully to the Mystics of Spain and the efforts of the Inquisition to destroy them. The concluding chapters of the Book on "Spheres of Action" deal with such subjects as the prosecution of solicitation, unorthodox propositions, sorcery, witchcraft, Jansenism, free-masonry, bigamy, and blasphemy.

The ninth Book is the "Conclusion" of the work, showing the decline in powers and activity of the Inquisition of Spain until its legal abolition in 1834; but especially emphasizing the point made in the Preface, that the importance of the entire subject inheres not so much in any single aspect as in the subtle influence which the institution exercised for centuries on the minds and the social life of Spain, throwing it an age behind the rest of Europe in development and rendering it totally unready for the awakening of the modern era. This point is stressed again in the closing passage, which, besides, admirably indicates the judicial temper that Lea maintained in treating an aspect of history so loaded with human wrong and suffering, never departing from the magnanimous principles which he had established for the historian in his address, *Ethical Values in History*. The work concludes:

"We have thus followed the career of the Spanish Inquisition from its foundation to its suppression; we have examined its methods and its acts and have sought to appraise its influence and its share in the misfortunes which overwhelmed the nation. The conclusion can scarce be avoided that its work was almost wholly evil, and that, through its reflex action, the persecutors suffered along with the persecuted. Yet who can blame Isabella or

Torquemada or the Hapsburg princes for their share in originating and maintaining this disastrous instrument of wrong? The Church had taught for centuries that implicit acceptance of its dogmas and blind obedience to its commands were the only avenues to salvation; that heresy was treason to God, its extermination the highest service to God and the highest duty to man. This grew to be the universal belief, and, when Protestant sects framed their several confessions, each one was so supremely confident of possessing the secret of the Divine Being and his dealings with his creatures that all shared the zeal to serve God in the same cruel fashion.

"The Spanish Inquisition was only a more perfect and a more lasting institution than the others were able to fashion; as regards witchcraft, indeed, a more humane and rational one, for no one can appreciate the service which in this matter it rendered to Spain who has not realized the horrors of the witchcraft trials in which Catholic and Protestant Europe rivalled each other. The spirit among all was the same, and none are entitled to cast the first stone, unless we except the humble and despised Moravian Brethren and the disciples of George Fox. The faggots of Miguel Servet bear witness to the stern resolve of Calvinism. Lutheranism has its roll-call of victims. Anglicanism, under Edward VI, in 1550, undertook to organize an Inquisition on the Spanish pattern, which burnt Joan of Kent for Arianism, and the writ *De hæretico comburendo* was not abolished until 1676. Much as we may abhor and deplore this cruelty, we must acquit the actors of moral responsibility, for they but acted in the conscientious belief that they were serving the Creator and his creatures. The real responsibility can be traced to distant ages, to St. Augustin and St. Leo the Great and the Fathers, who deduced, from the doctrine of exclusive salvation, that the obstinate dissident is to be put to death, not only in punishment for his sin, but to save the faithful from infection. This hideous teaching, crystallized into a practical system, came, in the course of centuries, to be an

essential feature of the religion which it distorted so utterly from the love and charity inculcated by the Founder. To dispute it was a heresy subjecting the disputant to the penalties of heresy, and not to enforce it was to misuse the powers entrusted by God to rulers for the purpose of establishing His kingdom on earth.

"In Spain, under peculiar conditions, this resolve to enforce unity of belief, in the conviction that it was essential to human happiness here and hereafter, led to the framing of a system of so-called justice more iniquitous than has been evolved by the cruellest despotism; which places the lives, the fortunes and the honor, not only of individuals but of their posterity, in the hands of those who could commit wrong without responsibility; which tempted human frailty to indulge its passions and its greed without restraint, and which subjected the population to a blind and unreasoning tyranny, against which the slightest murmur of complaint was a crime. . . . The inquisitors were men, not angels, and when injustice and oppression were rife in the secular courts it would be folly not to expect them in the impenetrable recesses of the Holy Office. If we have occasionally met with instances of kindness and genuine desire to do right, we have incidentally encountered the opposite too often for us to doubt its frequency. That the rulers of the Inquisition recognized the danger of this and sought to diminish it is evident . . .

"After all, the great lesson taught by the history of the Inquisition is that the attempt of man to control the conscience of his fellows reacts upon himself; he may inflict misery, but, in due time, that misery recoils on him or on his descendants, and the full penalty is exacted with interest. Never has the attempt been made so thoroughly, so continuously, or with such means of success as in Spain, and never has the consequent retribution been so palpable and so severe. The sins of the fathers have been visited on the children, and the end is not yet. A corollary to this is that the unity of faith, which was the ideal of

statesman and churchman alike in the sixteenth century, is fatal to the healthful spirit of competition through which progress, moral and material, is fostered. Improvement was impossible so long as the Holy See held a monopoly of salvation, and, however deplorable were the hatred and strife developed by the rivalry which followed the Reformation, it yet was of inestimable benefit in raising the moral standards of both sides, in breaking down the stubbornness of conservatism and in rendering development possible. Terrible as were the wars of religion which followed the Lutheran revolt, yet were they better than the stagnation preserved in Spain through the efforts of the Inquisition. So long as human nature remains what it is, so long as the average man requires stimulation from without as well as from within, so long as progress is the reward only of earnest endeavor, we must recognize that rivalry is the condition precedent of advancement, and that competition in good works is the most beneficent sphere of human activity."

This work was translated in two abridged editions on the Continent of Europe. In 1908, at Brussels, was published the French abridgment by M. Salomon Reinach; in 1911-1912, at Leipzig, the three-volume German version by Professor Prosper Müllendorff, of the University of Cologne. To the author, who had labored so hard to bring it down to the scope of four volumes without destroying either its interest or its convincing documentation, the idea of further abridgment, in translation, and largely without his supervision, was at first appalling. When Professor Müllendorff in 1908 wrote suggesting the idea of a series of selections to be used as articles in the *Kölnische Zeitung* and later to be collected in two volumes, he expressed his fears as to the result, and withheld his approval. In a few weeks, however, after being urged by Professor

Hansen to grant the consent which Professor Müllendorff desired, he agreed reluctantly, and the plan was followed, with more success than he had hoped. However, it would have increased his Continental reputation if *The Inquisition of Spain* had received the complete and adequate translation accorded *The Inquisition of the Middle Ages*.

The Inquisition in the Spanish Dependencies was the result of the division of materials consequent on the decision which its author made in 1905 to reduce the size of his *Inquisition of Spain*. Besides reducing it by one volume in rewriting, he gathered for separate treatment all the materials relating to the *Inquisition in the Dependencies*, which he published in an additional volume in 1908. These materials had been accumulating, along with those for the major study, since the beginning of his investigation of the Inquisition. A very considerable step forward was made in 1886, when he became acquainted with Colonel David Fergusson of Seattle, Washington, who had retired to scholarly pursuits after an adventurous life in South America and a long residence in Mexico. In the latter country he had indulged his hobby for old manuscripts and books to such good purpose that he had accumulated a unique collection of rarities of the greatest importance to the student of the history of Spain in Mexico. The value of these he had discovered in his attempt to translate some of their obscure pages; and, admiring the work of Lea, he wrote in 1886 offering to put the entire library at his disposal if the Philadelphian desired to see it. The first consignment demonstrated to Lea the enormous importance of the collection, and the remaining documents were sent periodically in small lots over several years. A warm friendship developed between the two

men, and Colonel Fergusson was able to direct Lea's attention to other sources still in Mexico. He was not in every case able to reach his sources so directly, but he spared no efforts to reach any that were available, and by 1890 he had correspondents in South America, wherever the Inquisition had extended its influence, and his copyists were soon at work in all the important archives. In Peru, as in Mexico, the task was simplified by his acquaintance with one individual, Don José Toribio Medina, whose many published works on the history of the Church in Peru led Lea to communicate directly with him requesting advice and assistance, which were graciously and liberally granted. On October 25, 1907, he could write Macmillans: "I have passed the last revise of the Index of the *Spanish Dependencies*, and you can put the book to press whenever it suits your convenience." It was published early in 1908.

The volume traces separately the course of the Spanish Inquisition in each Spanish dependency, beginning, where there was a pre-Reformation Inquisition, with a sketch of the older institution; then following the post-Reformation Inquisition under the Spanish Holy Office from its foundation to its decline. The localities treated are Sicily, Malta, Naples, Sardinia, Milan, the Canaries, Mexico, the Philippines, Peru and New Granada.

The remarkable spirit which had sustained his labors began at last to flag, although only occasionally. Until 1908, when he was in his eighty-third year, one looks in vain in his correspondence for any note of final capitulation to the inevitable forces of age. The first admission occurs in a letter to Charles Eliot Norton in that year, in which he says:

"On opening your letter I missed the masculine handwriting to which I was accustomed and learned with much regret the cause of the change. You are fortunate, however, in being able to dictate so easily, for the style and the spirit are there although the form is changed. I fear that if I were to employ an amanuensis the result would be most unsatisfactory. We are both of us growing old and must pay the penalty of outliving the usual allotted span. I feel it in many ways though I struggle against it and try to deceive myself into the belief that I can still work on. I have never felt that prolonged old age was a blessing, and have always hoped to die in harness. Those are most fortunate who like you, if they cannot look forward to doing all they wish in the future, can look back upon a long life so well filled with accomplishment."

His friends and family observed little outward change, however. His work went on, for he turned at once to the study of witchcraft which he had begun so long ago, and which had engaged his attention as an incidental aspect of the Spanish Inquisition. Nor was there any appreciable diminution of his personal activities. In 1907 he entertained the Wistar Party at his home. To this meeting he invited his friend, James Bryce, then British Ambassador at Washington, who had recently visited him several times. Bryce, who called him "the most eminent Philadelphian," and "one of the three greatest scholars in the world," was garnering in these visits many of Lea's mature opinions on American municipal government which he later quoted as authoritative in his *Modern Democracies* (1921). The recognition of Lea's work continued, at home and abroad, to bring him new honors. In 1908 he was elected a member of the American Academy of Arts and Letters. Early the following spring he was notified

of his election as Corresponding Fellow of the British Academy.¹

The inception of the study of witchcraft has been previously described.² He had become aware of the importance and interest of the subject early in his reading of church history; in 1876 he began an orderly study of it, and sketched a volume on the subject for which he gathered much material. In 1878 he had arrived at a point sufficiently advanced to lead him to write the first four chapters. At that point his work was interrupted by a serious illness, which has been described. When he was able to return to his research four years later, this subject was crowded into the background by his insistent desire to continue his work on the Inquisition. These circumstances he recalled in a letter to Professor Burr dated September 7, 1907.³

"The subject of sorcery and witchcraft has always had a certain fascination for me, and my work on the Inquisition has been in some sort an outgrowth from it. It is odd how one gets led off from one's path into bypaths. Many years ago I commenced researches into man's assumed control over spiritual forces, and this led me back into investigating the theories of the origin of evil in the various great religions, oriental and occidental. I had a book about half completed on the subject when nervous exhaustion condemned me to intellectual idleness for some four years, and when I gradually emerged I felt it risky to

¹ In a letter to a member of Mr. Lea's family, Ambassador Bryce wrote, "I need hardly tell you that the Foreign Membership of the British Academy is the highest honor that we in England have to bestow upon a historian or philologist or philosopher belonging to another country."

² See Chapter IV, pp. 149-151.

³ Correspondence, Lea Library, University of Pennsylvania.

resume where I had left off in a study of the Vedanta philosophy, besides realizing that only an Orientalist, which I am not, could grapple with the sources at first hand. So I turned to the Inquisition, for which I had already made collections, as a simpler and less brain-fatiguing amusement."

Before *The Inquisition of Spain* was out of press he had characteristically returned to the earlier study, abandoned thirty years before. On October 26, 1906, he wrote Professor Burr, "In the intervals of more pressing engagements I am trying to work up an account of witchcraft in Europe from the fifteenth century, and I would like to know whether in the Cornell Library there is a copy of Anhorn's *Magialogia*, Basel, 1674 or 1675." The following August he wrote to the same correspondent, "I am working through Joseph Hansen's *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Hexenwahns* with great admiration for his laborious thoroughness." He partly defined the scope of his proposed study in writing that year to M. Charles DuBus, his French copyist, "I do not care particularly about legends and poetry. What I do especially desire are documents illustrating legal processes, the development of beliefs, and the growth, extension and decline of persecution."

Incidentally, in his many years of study, he had already collected a large quantity of the requisite material, so much, in fact, that he wrote M. DuBus that he regarded the German sources as "exhausted," although he believed there was still a considerable amount of material in the French archives. His library was now very large, and included almost every important work extant in his field that could be procured, besides forty-two incunabula, and

an enormous number of transcripts of unique documents.¹ Dr. W. W. Keen tells an illuminating story of an incident in 1908:²

"While spending the winter of 1907-1908 in Rome, I saw in an antiquarian bookstore a catalogue of books on witchcraft, a subject in which I knew Mr. Lea was deeply interested and of which, though he was then eighty-three years old, he contemplated writing a full account. I sent the catalogue to him, a list of seventy or eighty titles, some of them very rare, and offered to aid him in securing any which he might wish to purchase. In reply I received a letter of thanks, but he declined my proffered assistance for the very good reason that he "already had all of them in his library."

¹ Dr. Lea's studies covered the whole series of Christian centuries. Over their whole stretch he gathered a great library dealing with institutions and practices on which he wrote histories which will be read as long as men desire information, knowledge and an authoritative, impartial judgment on the history of the Inquisition, ecclesiastical courts and their jurisdiction, celibacy and absolution. These subjects root in their origins in the very beginning of organized Christianity. Seeking no other library, gathering all under his own roof, Dr. Lea acquired original documents on a scale incredible to those who do not know how the whirlwinds of revolution have scattered clerical archives. He had for years his agents copying records over Europe. For nearly half a century he was buying every printed paper, document and book that appeared on his topics. No such collection exists the world over. No great European library gives so complete a view of this great topic. Over a stretch of centuries this library holds the archives of organized Christianity in the medieval period, and in Spain and adjacent lands to the present time. This vast treasure will be the mine in which grateful students and investigators will work for years to come, remembering daily a man wise enough to gather this great store, and generous enough to leave it for others, a perpetual aid and incentive to research. The library which he has left to the University of Pennsylvania is a monument to his memory scarcely less lasting and imposing than his histories." Talcott Williams, LL.D., in the *Philadelphia Press*.

² *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 50, No. 198, p. 4.

It was on an old collection of materials on witchcraft, the second volume of Hauber's *Bibliotheca Magica*, that he was working when a sudden chill caused him to discontinue his labor, as he supposed for the day. He never returned to it. What he had accomplished on the subject of Witchcraft, however, is so important that it must be consulted by any scholar who wishes to pursue that field of investigation, and an edition of his notes is now in preparation.¹

"Mr. Lea's earlier researches in the field of magic and sorcery, begun in 1876 and later discontinued because of ill-health, were devoted entirely to the ancient world. When, after the lapse of nearly thirty years, he resumed his studies in this subject, he turned aside from his earlier interests and confined his attention to the history of sorcery in the Christian era. Still further limiting the field, he concentrated his attention on the period from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries, the time during which the earlier medieval demonology developed into that terrible witch mania which afflicted Europe with the bloodiest persecution of civilized times. At the date of his death he had already amassed a great body of material which gives some idea of the scope and value of the work that would have enriched historical literature had he lived to complete his labors.

"As a background for the newer witchcraft Mr. Lea found it necessary to go through the literature of preceding centuries in order to explain the belief in evil spirits held by the early Christians, their acceptance of pagan superstitions, and the assimilation of these conceptions with

¹ Professor Arthur C. Howland, of the University of Pennsylvania, is editing these valuable notes for publication, if practicable, and has kindly prepared the following general statement of their character and significance (pp. 347-350).

the accepted doctrines regarding Satan and his malignant activities. Here he was following lines already pursued in his chapter on Sorcery in the *History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, but he added much new material, especially in connection with the well-known condemnation of witch beliefs in the Church law of the tenth century, and the gradual elimination of this obstacle to persecution by the adroit exegesis of later theologians and canonists. Much remained to be done, however, in elucidating the views and influence of St. Augustine and other churchmen in the field of demonology.

“Another body of material deals with the influence of the Inquisition and its procedure on the development of the witch mania; but here the notes are not as extensive as one might expect, probably because Mr. Lea was relying on his vast knowledge of that institution to supplement the present notes. In the finished work this phase of the history of witchcraft would undoubtedly have received much fuller treatment than is indicated by what is found among these papers.

“As to the special treatises dealing directly with witchcraft, the greater part had been thoroughly explored, though a certain number had not yet been dealt with. Beginning with the treatise of de Spina, published before 1470, a great number of works of this description continued to pour from the press of Europe for nearly two hundred years. It is a dreary literature, with constant repetition of arguments, of examples of satanic activities, and of citations of authorities. With his accustomed thoroughness Mr. Lea waded through this mass of material, patiently analyzing the contents of the various books, noting the special views of each writer, and copying sig-

nificant passages in the words of their authors. The same method was pursued with the works of the jurists. Copious notes were taken from them dealing with the law of witchcraft and the methods of procedure to be employed in investigations of the crime.

“Of the remainder of Mr. Lea’s notes, the greater part deals with the history of witch persecution in the various regions of Europe. So far as Germany is concerned, this material had been thoroughly studied. The same is true of the printed sources for witchcraft in France; but here much work yet remained to be done in the departmental archives, which were being carefully explored under Mr. Lea’s direction. At the time of his death his copyists were just beginning to send in the material he had designated. His investigation of witchcraft in Italy was also incomplete, though a large body of material had been collected and studied. For England he had as yet used only the better known sources, but here, too, he had begun to secure copies of manuscripts in the British Museum. The Spanish notes are evidently only a supplement to those already used for the chapter on witchcraft in his *History of the Inquisition in Spain*.

“Altogether, the material assembled for a history of witchcraft makes some 1800 foolscap pages of manuscript in the scholar’s small, delicate handwriting and constitutes perhaps two-thirds of what would ultimately have been collected. It illustrates not only Mr. Lea’s astounding industry, but also his methods of work. No particular order is discernible in these papers as found. Each source was dealt with as it came into his hands. The work of organization and the final plan of the book were reserved until all available material had been assembled. Then,

following his usual method, a careful index of all the notes would have led to the arrangement of the various topics in their proper relations and suggested the natural division of the work into books and chapters. The history of witchcraft as it would have been finally presented can only be conjectured; but enough remains to preserve a vast store of information which will constitute a precious mine for any subsequent workers in this field."

Henry Charles Lea was granted the fulfilment of his desire to "die in harness." As has been stated, he was at work on a volume related to the subject of witchcraft when, on October 20, 1909, he was taken suddenly with a severe chill. Laying his pen in the book as marker against his return to it, as he supposed the next day, he retired. Four days later, early on the morning of October 24, he died of pneumonia, despite the skill and devotion of his physician, Dr. Hobart Amory Hare. His old friend, Rev. Dr. Joseph May, Pastor Emeritus of the First Unitarian Church of Philadelphia, of which he was a member, assisted the Rev. Charles E. St. John, then Pastor of that Church, in the simple funeral service which took place at the Walnut Street house. He was buried in Laurel Hill Cemetery.

In the year of Lea's death, M. Salomon Reinach wrote:¹ "His modesty was equal to his knowledge. I possess a long series of letters from him, which breathe the devotion to science and humanity which was the incessant inspiration of his beautiful life. Philadelphia owes a monument of recognition and public esteem to this great spirit, the like of whom I seek without success elsewhere."

¹ *Revue Archéologique*, 1909, iv series, 14, 461.

The City of Philadelphia named a new public school in his honor. In a niche in the hall is a replica of the posthumous bronze bust by the distinguished sculptor, Charles Grafly. On the pedestal is the following inscription:

THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA
HAS DEDICATED THIS SCHOOL
TO
HENRY CHARLES LEA, LL.D.
1825—1909
HE WAS ONE OF
THE FOREMOST CITIZENS
OF PHILADELPHIA
IN YOUTH
AN INVESTIGATOR IN
NATURAL SCIENCES
A CRITIC IN LITERATURE
IN MANHOOD
ASSIDUOUS AND SUCCESSFUL IN
BUSINESS AND FINANCE
IN THE CIVIL WAR A PATRIOT
THEREAFTER A LEADER IN CIVIC AND
PHILANTHROPIC AFFAIRS
A HISTORIAN
OF WORLD WIDE REPUTATION
WHOSE WRITINGS
ARE ESPECIALLY MARKED BY
ACCURACY OF STATEMENT
IMPARTIALITY IN JUDGMENT
AND LOVE OF TRUTH
HE SPARED NO EFFORT
HE WASTED NO TIME

The scholars of Philadelphia paid Mr. Lea signal homage in the joint Memorial Meeting of January 20, 1911. This was the collective recognition by several organizations which have good cause to remember the devotion of the

old scholar: the American Philosophical Society, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the University of Pennsylvania, the Academy of Natural Sciences, and the Library Company of Philadelphia. The purpose of the meeting included a memorial of Isaac Lea as well as of his still more famous son. Portraits of both scholars were presented to the American Philosophical Society by the family. The speakers included the British Ambassador, James Bryce, Dr. S. Weir Mitchell, Horace Howard Furness, Professor Edward P. Cheyney, and Dr. W. W. Keen.

Excerpts from Professor Cheyney's address¹ have already been given in appropriate places in the foregoing pages. He concluded:

"It is well-nigh impossible to view his long life and to estimate his great work as a thing detached from us, completed, a part of the past. Especially may one who through his whole mature life has looked upon Mr. Lea with admiration as a scholar, with gratitude as a kindly adviser, critic and friend, and with constantly increasing appreciation as one of the world's great men, acknowledge the inadequacy of this sketch of his life and list of his achievements. Those who are familiar with Mr. Lea's methods of work know how he accomplished so much. Day after day, month after month, year after year, he labored constantly, usually six or more hours a day, with intense and concentrated yet alert and interested application. He often expressed his joy in the combat with a student's difficulties, his satisfaction in achievement. Although his health was by no means constantly good, yet for sixty-five years he did not spend the whole of any one day in bed. . . .

"The deepest impression made by a survey of the career

¹ Cheyney, E. P.: "On the Life and Works of Henry Charles Lea," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 50, No. 198.

of Mr. Lea as an historian is an overwhelming sense of the impoverishment of the world of scholarship now that he has gone from it . . . The broad outlook, the massive acquirements, the trained capacity, the patient industry, the indomitable perseverance, the sustained interest, the alert and ardent mind of this great scholar,—how can we spare them from historical research and writing? When shall we again have the clear-eyed layman investigating subjects too generally left by custom to the churchman? Where can we seek for the intellectual courage that will extend its view over so many centuries, and the industry that will prepare itself so thoroughly for the combat with their difficulties? What capacities scattered among many possessors will make up for the combination of powers in one personality? What late travelers along the way of historical study will see so widely, observe so keenly and record so well as this first and greatest of American scientific historians?”

Ambassador Bryce, following Professor Cheyney, spoke in part as follows:

“I am asked to speak about one of the greatest historians of our time; to do so is for me not only an honor, but also a duty, because I was privileged during many years to enjoy his friendship . . . I must not forget to dwell upon and gratefully acknowledge the uniform kindness which he showed to us younger men when we approached him, and which witnessed to the genial warmth of his heart . . . Any one asked to say what are the qualities needed for the writing of history might enumerate them as follows: diligence, patience, accuracy, the power of critical discrimination, impartiality, penetration, judgment . . . His writing had that which is the greatest merit of style, perfect clearness both in the statement of facts and in the exposition of his views. His industry was above all praise. For fifty years he labored incessantly on his researches. Nothing could exceed the

care and patience with which he investigated the sources from which he drew his materials. He verified every reference, he neglected no out-of-the-way authority. He rightly held accuracy to be the first of all of the historian's aims and the highest test of the historian's excellence. In accompanying him one feels always on firm ground. Freedom from any bias or prepossession, whether religious or political, is essential in order to secure the confidence of all readers, whether Roman Catholic or Protestant. Mr. Lea was a Protestant by birth and conviction, but he was, as a scholar ought to be, perfectly fair in his treatment of ecclesiastical and religious questions. His books were never written with any purpose save that of eliciting the facts. He not only never suppressed evidence, but also always treated evidence in a purely judicial spirit. When he had to deliver his own judgment it was sure to be both cautious and weighty . . . One feature of Mr. Lea's judgment deserves to be noted because, although apparently discarded by some among the most recent school of scientific historians, it is one which was placed in the forefront of an historian's merits by a great man whom it is a pleasure to name as a warm admirer of Mr. Lea's work, the late Lord Acton. Mr. Lea was sparing in condemnation but he carried a clear and sound moral sense into all his judgments. Cruelty and perfidy and rapacity were hateful to him wherever they were found. Their foulness was not to be palliated by dwelling on the distinction between the standards of one age and another. These three sins always were sins as they always will be sins . . . I may sum up the impression which Mr. Lea's intellectual character and attitude leave upon his readers, and left most of all upon those who knew him personally, by saying that he loved truth with a whole-hearted devotion. The love of truth is the compass by which an historian must steer. It is the highest quality in the investigator. It was his love of truth that made him so diligent and exact and scrupulous. We in England feel doubly grateful to the United States when she gives

us an historian who makes to European history contributions of permanent value. Mr. Lea is a bright example of the services which an American historian can render to branches of history which eminently require calm and dispassionate investigation.

"The vision rises before me of our venerable friend as I used to see him sitting in his library, surrounded by books that rose from floor to ceiling, rows of precious volumes which he had gathered with such painstaking diligence, happy among them, gentle and serene in aspect, and pursuing his labors in an old age which had left him in full possession of his admirable powers, wise and just, zealous and untiring as ever in the pursuit of truth. He thought nothing of fame. He did not seek for recognition either at home or abroad, and the circle from which he received recognition was the comparatively narrow one of scholars who were able to appreciate what he had done for them. But he has set before us a splendid example of single-minded devotion to the enlargement of knowledge, and has given us a great mass of first-rate original work which has stood and will stand the test of criticism. This work of his, covering some of the most obscure and difficult branches of research, and throwing new light into many a dark corner of the past, will perpetuate his name and win for it the gratitude of many generations of historical scholars."

Dr. Horace Howard Furness, the great Shakespearean scholar and a lifelong friend of Mr. Lea, then said in part:

"Who would not gladly be a humble follower of such a leader as he whom we have met this evening to commemorate? From mouths wiser than mine you have listened to a review of his manifold talents and activities. A man so various that he seemed to be not one but all good men's epitome. Would not an historian of Philadelphia express his conviction that there were here during the last half century two men both bearing the identical

name, one striving and prominent in the heady fight of politics and reform; the other a modest and sequestered scholar, leading a cloistered life of historical research? . . . Whatever may be the qualities demanded in a scholar, and especially in an historian, accuracy of statement stands preëminent. In this accuracy Mr. Lea ranks among the highest. The sources whence he drew his statements cannot be impugned. They are the very words of the speakers, the very acts of governments, the very decrees of the Church. He gives the documents themselves, from which the interpretation to be drawn is the bare, unqualified meaning of the very words themselves. And herein he reveals to us the lofty attitude of pure intelligence; pure intelligence is absolutely cold and impartial. This impersonality elevates his writings to the ruthless dignity of a scroll of fate. Here are your facts. Lament, deplore, extenuate as you will, but deny you cannot.

“For an historian to attain an eminence from which he can sweep the horizon, he must be, with a cool head and unclouded brain, omnipresent in the times whereof he writes. There must be not only no point of the horizon, political, ethical and ecclesiastical, which he has not scanned; but also the manners, the customs, the complex trending of thought, the very form and pressure of the age and body of the time, must be as familiar to him as are those of his own. To accomplish this as thoroughly as Lea accomplished it, demands exhaustive research, wide reading, digesting, collating, analysis, and all held in memory to the point of saturation. In the presence of such an achievement, as we find again and again in Lea’s works, we can only stand in mute respect and admiration, tempered with what is akin to awe. To achieve this, difficult as it is, is a duty imposed on every historian; and recognizing this duty as ‘the stern daughter of the voice of God,’ Lea obeyed it.

“‘A man’s light,’ says Jeremy Taylor, ‘burns awhile and then turns blue and faint, and he goes to converse

with spirits; then he hands his taper to another.' But where shall we find him who is worthy to accept Lea's taper? Of him who shall venture to hold it, it will crave wary walking to keep its flame as pure and bright as when it illumined the pages beneath Lea's own hand;—those pages which will endure, which cannot but endure. Is it an exaggeration to paraphrase Dr. Johnson and assert that 'time which is continually washing away the dissoluble fabric of other writers will pass without injury the adamant' of *The History of the Inquisition?*"

Yet no student of history will ever need a more inspiring reminder of Lea nor any more explicit epitaph upon his spirit than the works of his brain and pen. The character of the man is preserved there. The value of his work was amply recognized by the scholars of his time: by learned degrees from Pennsylvania, Princeton, Harvard and Giessen; by his Fellowships in the Imperial University of Moscow, in Oxford University and in the British Academy; by his election to membership in more than thirty learned bodies all over the world, including the Royal Academy of Bavaria, the Comenius Gesellschaft of Berlin, the Reale Accademia dei Lincei of Rome, and the American Philosophical Society.¹ With the passing years his influence has grown and the recognition of his work has been universal among those whose respect he would have cared to win. The influence of his method of work on subsequent historians has been marked, and it will probably be yet more considerable. This judgment has been often expressed, nowhere more effectively than by Professor Burr, writing in 1925.² In evaluating Lea's work in terms of the future, he said:

¹ For a complete list see Appendix.

² "The Historical Work of Henry C. Lea." Address delivered at the Dedication of the Henry Charles Lea Library and Reading Room, University of Pennsylvania, May 28, 1925.

"It is Professor Haskins, fitted as are few others to pronounce a verdict upon it, who has described Mr. Lea's first book as still, 'in spite of all that others have done to illuminate the early history of legal procedure, the best comprehensive account in any language of the methods of trial embodied in the ordeal, compurgation, judicial combat, and torture.' His words I believe the wisest to use of Mr. Lea's work as a whole—'the best comprehensive account in any language' . . . Forty-odd years ago Charles Gross, now long recognized as one of the ablest and most exact of American scholars, sent from Germany, where he was still a student, a remarkable report to President White of Cornell. It was a comparative survey of the historial productiveness of two generations of German historians; and what it demonstrated was that those of the older generation—Ranke, Droysen, Waitz and their fellows—were, despite the far wider range of their work, sounder scholars, as well as more fruitful, than their more specialized successors. Some day we are likely to make the same discovery as to Mr. Lea; but it will be the mousing of the specialists that will establish it. His work has of course the defects of its own qualities. He could not toil quietly in his own study and have the same sort of acquaintance with bibliographies and works of reference as those thrown upon the resources of great libraries. But what a gain to balance the loss. Even while he wrote there was developing in the *Seminars* of the Old World, as a training for editors and archivists, an elaborate technique of historical method by which the historians of the next generation were to profit; but what might he have lost of self-reliance and of grasp had he stopped to make this his own. 'The best comprehensive account:' that surely was what Mr. Lea meant his work to be. As for 'the forms and ceremonies' he tells us in his 'Wager of Battle' he cares little for them. They may, he says, 'furnish an interesting subject of investigation for the admirers of chivalry, but they teach in their details little concerning the habits and modes of thought

of the Middle Ages, and are merely interesting to the pure archæologist.' 'The best comprehensive account'—but an account wrung from the original sources by a free and honest student who will spare neither time nor pains to get at the very gist of the matter, and who shrinks from no problem because its difficulty or its delicacy has long scared off research. First among Mr. Lea's great qualities I rate that high courage, grappling with themes left by others to the venom of anti-clerical pamphleteers or the varnish of clerical apologists.

"Nor may we forget how he stirred to life the monographers. If work such as his was to be answered or verified, it must be by research. What a crowd of students the Inquisition has had since he opened the way; and Paul Frédéricq, perhaps the foremost of them, ascribes it all to Mr. Lea. What, too, has he not meant to the younger scholars of America! I remember how, when but a boy in my early teens, his books were put into my hands by a kinsman—himself one of the most rigorous of local historians—as a model of the new and better scholarship opening to our land."

This is high praise, but it has been sustained by the judgment of many capable scholars of the present. A great scholar, a great patriot, and a great citizen, Henry Charles Lea has impressed his personality permanently on every department of life that he entered in his versatile career.

"A mind so endowed with insight, whence came foresight and wisdom, energized with powerful interests, and kept active for seventy years of study by an amazing industry that spared no effort, such a mind, schooled with scientific method and precision in weighing evidence, was an instrument of wide applicability. An iron will

governed an enduring physique derived from a long-lived race, and trained it in perfect control and great abstemiousness to concentrate all its powers on efficiency. Mr. Lea experienced the deep satisfaction of finding that his mind and body so trained were equal to any task he had to do. The qualities that enabled him to acquire profound learning, practical wisdom, and dispassionate judgment, characterized him in every relation in life. A loving husband, a wise father, patriot, reformer, scholar and always a man of affairs, he was also a philanthropist, munificent in his gifts to education, charity, public movements and to fellow men needing help. He held that man should be his own almoner during his lifetime. Wealth he did not seek for itself, but merely as an incident to powers he felt it obligatory to exercise, so directing them as to be constructive and to benefit others as well as himself in the outcome. He was unselfish and of spotless integrity. The ills, griefs, and trials of life he bore with fortitude, solacing himself with the sense of duty done and useful work accomplished. Summing all, few men have had cause for deeper satisfaction, the full fruition of a long life, well spent. Seeing humanity in its relation to the Infinite, he possessed the modesty of great wisdom. He trusted truth utterly and faced death calmly. The end was peace."¹

¹ *Henry Charles Lea, 1825-1909.*

*He hath shewed thee, O man, what is good;
And what doth the Lord require of thee,
But to do justly, and to love mercy,
And to walk humbly with thy God?*

MICAH, vi, 8.

APPENDIX

ACADEMIC HONORS AND MEMBERSHIP IN LEARNED SOCIETIES OF HENRY CHARLES LEA

Doctor of Laws (LL.D.)

Universities of Pennsylvania, Harvard and Princeton

Doctor of Theology (S.T.D.)

University of Giessen

President

American Historical Association (1903)

Wyclif Society, American Branch (1892)

Vice-President

Historical Society of Pennsylvania (1890-1909)

American Historical Association (1902)

American Academy of Political and Social Science

Fellow

Imperial University of Moscow

Associate Fellow

American Academy of Arts and Sciences

Corresponding Fellow

British Academy

Akademie des Wissenschafts, Munich

Foreign Member

Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Rome

Corresponding Member

Royal Academy of Bavaria

Jewish Historical Society of England

Member

American Philosophical Society
Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia
American Society of Church History
American Academy of Literature and Art
American Association for the Advancement of Science
American Dante Society
American Antiquarian Society
American Oriental Society
Massachusetts Historical Society
New York Historical Society
American Folk Lore Society
American Statistical Association
American Academy of Arts and Letters
National Institute of Arts and Letters
Archaeological Institute of America
University Archaeological Association
German-American Historical Society
Royal Society of Arts, London
Royal Society of Antiquaries of Scotland
Società Internazionale di Studi Francescani, Assisi
Reale Società Romana della Storia Patria
Comenius-Gesellschaft, Berlin
Phi Beta Kappa (Hon.)

THE CHAPTER ON THE EVE OF THE REFORMATION IN THE CAMBRIDGE MODERN HISTORY.

PROFESSOR CHEYNEY'S LETTER TO "THE TABLET."¹

To the Editor of the Tablet.

SIR: In the course of a discussion that took place in the columns of *The Tablet* in the later months of 1906, Herbert Thurston, S.J., in the issue of November 10, criticized the late Lord Acton for asking Mr. Henry C. Lea to contribute the chapter on the "Eve of the Reformation" to the "Cambridge Modern History." Two weeks later in the issue of November 24, Mr. William O. Sutcliffe denied that Lord Acton had asked Mr. Lea to write this chapter and stated that Lord Acton had chosen another scholar, and that it was only after Lord Acton's death, and after the scholar originally chosen had declined the task, that the later editors selected Mr. Lea for the work. Mr. Lea saw this statement in *The Tablet*, and in January, 1907, prepared a communication correcting Mr. Sutcliffe's mistake by making a series of excerpts from his correspondence with Lord Acton. Before this was sent to the paper, however, his attention was called to a letter in *The Times* of October 30, 1906, by the present Lord Acton, vindicating his father's Catholic orthodoxy. Mr. Lea not wishing to place difficulties in the way of what seemed to him a work of filial piety, did not send his correction to *The Tablet*.

Since Mr. Lea's death historic truth, more important even than filial piety, seems to demand a clear statement of the whole matter. This is here briefly given from his unpublished correspondence. On December 19, 1896, a week after the first announcement of the plan for the publication of the "Cambridge Modern History," Lord Acton wrote a letter to Mr. Lea, in which, after giving the general scheme of the work, and describing a chapter to be called "The Eve of the Reformation," to be devoted to a discussion of the moral and religious aspects of the Continent at that time, he goes

¹ See page 313.

on to say: "It is a special desire of my own to obtain your aid in the first volume. This is the most important and most critical and cardinal chapter, which I am anxious to be allowed to place in your hands. . . . It is so clear that you are the one indicated and predestined writer, that I do not insist on that. But there is nobody else. I must be slow to interpolate foreigners; and I know of none whom I could go to if you refuse." In letters to Lord Acton dated January 7 and March 22, 1897, Mr. Lea gives a somewhat reluctant consent to undertake the chapter asked for, and outlines what, in his opinion, it should include. On April 4, 1897, Lord Acton replied, thanking Mr. Lea for his consent, arranging for the chapter to appear as the last in the first volume, and indicating his agreement with Mr. Lea's suggestions by saying, "Your last work (*History of Confession and Indulgences*) contains almost all I am asking for, ten times told, and full measure running over." Further letters passed between them, mostly concerning the bibliography and the length of the article, on July 27, 1897, and March 14 and 28 and April 17, 1898. With the last of these Mr. Lea transmits the manuscript in its final form. After discussing the possibility of treating such a theme with absolutely colorless impartiality, and stating that he had nevertheless written "in a thoroughly objective spirit" he suggests the return of his article if it does not meet Lord Acton's views of what is desirable to include in the work. The chapter was published, however, in the first volume of the *Modern History*, just as Mr. Lea had written it.

It appears, therefore, that Lord Acton at the very inception of the project invited and even urged the American scholar to write this important section of the *History*, that he expressed his pleasure and gratitude when Mr. Lea accepted, and gave his approval to the chapter when it had been written.

Yours very truly,
(Signed) EDWARD P. CHEYNEY.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA,
PHILADELPHIA, SEPTEMBER 23 (1911)

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V. SOME SOURCES FOR THE LIFE AND WORK OF HENRY C. LEA

The Henry Charles Lea Library of the University of Pennsylvania is the most important single source for a study of Lea's life and works. His family caused it to be transported intact

from his home to its present location, where they also built the structure and set up the original interior. It is thus the actual room where he worked. It contains all of his sources, documents and many rare books, a unique collection; the Mss. of his works in the various editions; his correspondence with scholars all over the world; reviews of his works; and a large collection of historical reference books.

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